

SPECIAL
REPORT

Exodus

THE EPIC
MIGRATION
TO EUROPE &
WHAT LIES
AHEAD p38-91

TIME



Refugees, mainly Syrian, cross from Serbia into Croatia. They are among an estimated 60 million migrants on the move worldwide.

Photograph by James Nachtwey



A refugee family near Tovarnik, Croatia, on Sept. 18

Special Issue The Great Migration

More refugees are on the move than at any other time since the end of World War II. What their journeys mean for Europe, the U.S. and the world

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A modern exodus

ON THE TURKISH COAST, NEAR ONE OF THE MAIN launching points for boats heading to Greece and beyond, is the ancient town of Assos, where the pillars of a temple to Athena and the ruins of a 5,000-seat theater overlook the beach. Aristotle founded his own academy to teach philosophy here; St. Paul passed through several centuries later. Look across the water, past the piles of life jackets and the shrapnel of lives shattered by conflict, and you are reminded of an ancient phenomenon re-created in a most modern form, voyagers steering by stars and by cell phones. The mass exodus chronicled in this special report is as old as war and older than civilization—but somehow an integral part of both.

We sent our reporters and photographers across Europe and the Middle East to capture the scale of the greatest migration since World War II. Correspondent Simon Shuster and photographer Yuri Kozyrev spent weeks traveling from Hungary and Serbia to Greece and Turkey. Veteran TIME photographer James Nachtwey landed in Belgrade less than 48 hours after the Hungarian border was shut down. On his way from the airport, he noticed people walking through a cornfield on the Serbia-Croatia border and recognized that these were the first refugees taking an alternate route; they are among the people on our cover. Naina Bajekal traveled to Berlin and Munich to report on the German reception of hundreds of thousands of refugees who have already arrived this year; multimedia journalist Patrick Witty sent video dispatches on Periscope from across the Balkans and the Greek isles, reporting on the role social media play in shaping escape routes and arrivals. Megan Gibson traveled to Austria to interview refugees about the most valuable possessions they took with them on their long journeys. Vivienne Walt reported from across Sicily on the fate of minors, some as young as 13, who decided life at home was so grim that they set off alone to a new world.

Simon was struck by both the resilience of the travelers he encountered and the scarcity of ways to help. On the island of Lesbos, it is illegal to offer rides to the thousands of people, including young families and the elderly, as they walk the 40 miles (64 km) from the coast to the registration centers. "Often they'll stop to rest or sleep on the side of the road, and I nearly had a heart attack a few times as we came around a bend in the middle of the night on Lesbos to find a group of refugees lying on the asphalt in front of our headlights," he says. "A few times we stopped to give them the bottles of water and some snacks that we kept in the car for them. But it was never enough."



Nachtwey
on Lesbos
in Greece

Asked what they had brought with them to remind them of home, people shared every measure of sorrow and determination. On a ship transporting migrants to Athens, one man in the cafeteria stared blankly into his plate and then answered, "Sadness." A woman on the deck with several of her children and grandchildren smiled sweetly when asked whether the young ones had brought any special toys: "It's not playtime. We left everything behind."

At the other end of the journey, in German cities that are among the most powerful migrant magnets, Naina observed the generosity of both travelers and hosts, and a sense of shared experience. "Many Germans voiced that feeling to me—that someone in their family had been a refugee. They felt very connected to the whole European idea of unity and helping others in times of war," she says. All the refugees she met could pinpoint the moment they decided to leave. "Sometimes it was being conscripted into Assad's army or having a rocket blow up next to their house, seeing bits of bodies in the street, or managing to escape from prison only to realize that

you'll never feel safe again in your home country."

This special report was conceived and directed by Bryan Walsh, our new international editor overseeing global news gathering, including our overseas editions. A former Hong Kong correspondent and Tokyo bureau chief, Bryan is familiar to TIME readers for his years of reporting on the environment, health and science.

In his new role, he will be working with our foreign editors and correspondents to expand TIME's coverage around the world, both online and in these pages.



Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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'Our thoughts and prayers are not enough.'

PRESIDENT OBAMA, decrying political inaction on gun control after a shooting on an Oregon college campus left 10 dead, including the gunman. "Somehow this has become routine," Obama said, in his 15th time addressing the country after a mass shooting.



9.6%

Proportion of the world's population now thought to live in extreme poverty, the lowest ever



\$88,000

Price of a lunch menu from the *Titanic* at a recent auction

I'M ABLE TO BE MYSELF IN A WAY I FEEL LIKE I HAVEN'T BEEN IN A REALLY LONG TIME.'

LADY GAGA, pop star, who made her acting debut in *American Horror Story: Hotel* on Oct. 7. She plays a bloodsucking countess



\$1,049

Cost of a high-level season pass to Disneyland, the second time the amusement park has increased ticket prices this year

United Airlines

The carrier won praise for admitting its service has lagged in recent years



American Airlines

The carrier saw a pilot die during a flight from Phoenix to Boston



'IN THE END, I WAS LEFT TO REFLECT ON WHAT I WOULD WANT IN THE FACE OF MY OWN DEATH.'

JERRY BROWN, California governor, on signing "right to die" legislation that allows doctors to prescribe life-ending medications to terminally ill patients

'I have paid a price, but I feel comfortable with the decisions I've made.'



EDWARD SNOWDEN, NSA leaker, claiming he has "volunteered to go to prison" but has never been offered a plea deal to return to the U.S.

'There can be no justification for this horrible attack.'

CHRISTOPHER STOKES, general director of Doctors Without Borders, after a U.S. air strike on the organization's hospital in Kunduz, Afghanistan, left 22 people dead





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The Brief

'WE'RE SEEING THE PITCHFORKS ASCENDANT IN WASHINGTON' —PAGE 15



Mourners gather after a gunman opened fire at Umpqua Community College on Oct. 1

GUNS

A familiar tragedy calls for unfamiliar solutions

By Josh Sanburn

THE LATEST INSTALLMENT OF WHAT has become a tragic American ritual took place on a sunny morning in Roseburg, Ore., a river town that calls itself the Timber Capital of the Nation. Within minutes of Christopher Harper-Mercer's Oct. 1 assault at Umpqua Community College, the achingly familiar sequence began—scattered reports across Twitter and cable-news tickers, then images of arriving police and shaken survivors. Finally, the toll: nine injured and 10 dead, including the 26-year-old gunman, who took his own life during a shoot-out with authorities.

Routine, too, were the predictions that this latest massacre would bring no change. But there are signs that that may not prove true. Washington may offer scant hope for policy changes after mass shootings: Even though, according to the Pew Research Center, 85% of

Americans favor background checks for all gun purchases, a 2013 bill to mandate them failed in Congress. That vote came in the wake of the Sandy Hook school shooting, and the question became, If that outrage couldn't alter the status quo, what could?

One answer: Look outside the Beltway. Beyond our gridlocked Congress lie signs that America is finding other ways to try to stop mass shootings, including some winning support from gun owners. The 2012 tragedy in Newtown, Conn., may not have yielded federal legislation, but it produced a series of aggressive efforts around the country to regulate gun sales. Within a year, 12 state legislatures expanded background checks on gun purchases, including Illinois, Delaware, Connecticut and Missouri. Five states tightened assault-weapons restrictions that year, and a ballot measure expanding background

checks passed in Washington in 2014. A similar measure will be on the Nevada ballot next year, and an effort is afoot in Maine. "Since 2013, roughly half of the U.S. population is living in a state that strengthened gun laws in some important way," says Daniel Webster, director of the Johns Hopkins Center for Gun Policy and Research. Still other states, though, weakened restrictions on guns.

In a sign that the political calculus is shifting, Democrats are trying to make

gun control a 2016 issue. Days after the Oregon shooting, Hillary Clinton said she would use an executive action to skirt Congress and tighten the gun-show loophole, which lets some private sellers avoid background checks.

Not every effort to prevent mass shootings is about regulating guns. President Obama has increased funding to train and arm police in schools—an idea backed by the National Rifle Association. And the FBI is devoting more resources

to a threat-assessment team charged with the tricky task of separating the anti-social and the angry from the potentially dangerous. From 2000 to 2014, there were 166 mass shootings in more than a dozen developed countries around the world; 133 of them were in the U.S. Mass shootings will never be any less tragic, but perhaps they could become less of a ritual.—With reporting by SAM FRIZELL/WASHINGTON and CHARLOTTE ALTER and ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN/NEW YORK

Stopping mass shootings: five controversial ideas



DON'T NAME SHOOTERS

After the Oregon shooting, Douglas County sheriff John Hanlin said he would keep the gunman anonymous: "You will never hear me mention his name." On social media, people rallied around the hashtag #DontSayHisName, and the *Oregonian*—the state's largest newspaper—said it would use the name only "where it was needed for context." Why? Some researchers believe that a desire for notoriety—and a failure to achieve it through other means—helps drive some people to commit mass shootings, says Adam Lankford, a University of Alabama criminologist. **Denying attackers the infamy they crave could remove a motive** and potentially limit copycat tragedies. But such efforts run up against long-held journalistic custom and the challenge of keeping secrets in the social-media age.



COMPEL MENTAL-HEALTH TREATMENT

What do you do with an adult with severe mental illness who may be dangerous—but refuses treatment? A controversial practice known as assisted outpatient treatment allows courts to **impose treatment on adults considered a risk to themselves or others**. While the majority of states have some form of these laws, critics contend that they violate patients' civil rights and stigmatize mental illness by linking it to violent crime—and increasing the risk that people who need treatment won't come forward.



CRACK DOWN IN SCHOOLS

Schools are a prime target for gunmen. An average of two shootings occurred in K-12 schools in the U.S. each month from 2013 to 2014, according to Everytown for Gun Safety, a gun-control advocacy group. In 2013, **President Obama approved \$45 million to add more than 300 armed school resource officers**. The FBI, meanwhile, has a behavior-analysis team that works with local authorities who have flagged potentially violent students. Since 2012, the FBI says, the unit, which was created after the Columbine High School shooting in 1999, has responded to more than 400 cases, and then Attorney General Eric Holder said it prevented 150 attacks in 2013. It's a strategy that depends on teachers and school officials to notice if a student seems seriously "off"—and to report it in time.



LET COPS CONFISCATE GUNS

Citing research showing that a history of violence can help predict future behavior, some **states have begun allowing authorities to flag people they deem too dangerous to own guns**. In California, family members can seek a firearm restraining order if a relative who owns a gun shows signs of potential violence. In Connecticut, police have seized hundreds of firearms from people who have threatened to kill themselves or others or made threats against children. "We're not going to live in a world where we don't have angry young men," says Jeffrey Swanson, a professor of psychiatry at Duke University. "But we don't need to give them easy access to guns."



MAKE GUN MANUFACTURERS LIABLE

Federal law shields gunmakers from liability for crimes committed with weapons they manufacture. Yet families of Sandy Hook victims are suing Bushmaster and other gun companies under a narrow exception, arguing that the AR-15 was designed for war and that selling it to the public was "negligent entrustment." The idea is that **making gun companies accountable for shootings would create financial incentives to increase safety precautions** and monitor distribution, similar to how drug companies are incentivized to ensure the safety of their products. But winning those lawsuits will be difficult, which is why Hillary Clinton recently called for the federal law to be repealed. Representative Adam Schiff (D., Calif.) has sponsored legislation to roll back the protections.



TRENDING



SPORTS

New York's attorney general launched a probe into fantasy sports sites FanDuel and DraftKings after allegations that their employees placed bets using data unavailable to the public. The claims have prompted calls for the industry to be more tightly regulated.



ANIMALS

A completely new species of rat was discovered on the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. Researchers from Australia, Indonesia and the U.S. said the "hog-nosed rat" could be distinguished from its fellow rodents by its prominent nostrils and lower teeth.



PRISONS

The Department of Justice is set to release 6,000 prisoners in one of the largest single releases of federal inmates in U.S. history. The move is intended to reduce overcrowding and retroactively apply recently eased mandatory-sentencing guidelines for nonviolent drug offenders.



OFF TRACK An Amtrak train bound for Washington, D.C., derailed in central Vermont on Oct. 5 after hitting a rock slide, injuring seven of the 102 people on board, one seriously. The incident, which was at least the 17th Amtrak derailment so far in 2015, raised fresh concerns about rail safety less than five months after a derailment in Philadelphia killed eight people. *Photograph by Stefan Hard—Barre-Montpelier Times Argus/AP*

SPOTLIGHT

Afghan President Ashraf Ghani struggles after one year in office

ON OCT. 3, A DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS hospital in the northern Afghan city of Kunduz was bombed in a U.S. air strike that left at least 22 dead. Although President Obama apologized for the incident on Oct. 7, the bombing presents another challenge to President Ashraf Ghani, who marked one year in office on Sept. 29, a day after Kunduz fell to the Taliban. Ghani's presidency has been marred by a growing insurgency and domestic volatility:

POWERFUL INSURGENTS Although the Taliban was riven by internal discord following the confirmation in July of the death of longtime chief Mullah Omar, the attack on Kunduz illustrates its persistent military strength. Afghan troops first failed to resist the Taliban and

then struggled to dislodge it, troubling signs as the last NATO troops prepare to leave the country and civilians die at record rates.

POLITICAL WOES Amid growing security challenges over the summer, Ghani failed to get parliament to approve the latest of three nominees for the crucial post of Defense Minister. Analysts say the incomplete Cabinet highlights the instability of the unity government formed after 2014's disputed elections.

THE U.S. RELATIONSHIP Ghani expressed sorrow at the hospital strike, which came as U.S. forces aided the Afghan attempt to retake Kunduz, but did not condemn the U.S. for fear of hastening its troops' departure, analysts say. His reticence could cost him at home, as opponents seek to portray him as a pawn of the U.S.

—NIKHIL KUMAR

◀ Afghanistan has seen a surge in violence by the Taliban since Ghani was sworn in on Sept. 29, 2014





TRENDING



SMUGGLING

The FBI and other authorities have intercepted smugglers in Eastern Europe attempting to sell nuclear material to extremists four times since 2010, according to the AP. The most recent incident was in February, when a smuggler tried to sell material to ISIS.



TECHNOLOGY

LinkedIn agreed to pay \$13 million to settle a class action after being accused of spamming people with unwanted email invitations. The company's chief executive, Jeff Weiner, admitted in May that the site was guilty of "sending too much" to some users.



DISPUTES

Crippling fuel shortages in Nepal threaten to deepen tensions between that country and India. Nepalese media claim its southern neighbor is preventing trucks from crossing its lowland border over anger at its new constitution. India says protesters are blocking the roads.

BIG QUESTION

What will the Trans-Pacific Partnership do?

AFTER FIVE YEARS OF grueling negotiations, the U.S. and 11 other Pacific Rim countries reached a historic agreement on Oct. 5 on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a trade accord covering some two-fifths of the world economy. Here's what it is set to achieve:

EASE TRADE AND SET STANDARDS

The deal would eliminate 98% of tariffs on products including dairy, beef, wine, sugar, rice, resources and energy, which could mean cheaper food, medicine and goods for millions of people. It will set shared standards for everything from e-commerce to business practices: Singapore would have to set minimum wages, for example; Malaysia and Vietnam would need to raise labor standards. The U.S. says the TPP would also positively affect the environment, reducing

the trafficking of endangered species and overfishing. Countries could be subject to sanctions for not meeting commitments.

BRING THE U.S. AND JAPAN CLOSER

The TPP is the first bilateral trade agreement between two of the world's three largest economies. Japan, facing persistently slow economic growth, has much to gain as Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (pictured) has argued that the deal will boost trade flows. For the U.S., the deal is more

important strategically, as a legacy-defining moment for President Barack Obama in his bid for a foreign policy pivot toward Asia.

CHALLENGE CHINA China is not among the 12 signatories to the deal, and it has instead cut several rival trade agreements, including one with Australia signed in June. The U.S. hopes that Beijing will eventually have to adopt the standards set out by the TPP, with Obama saying, "We can't let countries like China write the rules of the global economy."

STIR UP DOMESTIC STRIFE

Though the full text of the TPP isn't out yet, there's already significant opposition from some politicians in Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Critics say it favors big corporations and dislike that the negotiations were conducted in secret. In the U.S. many Democrats—including former Secretary of State and presidential front runner Hillary Clinton—oppose the deal, saying it will take jobs away from the American workforce.

—NAINA BAJEKAL



BY THE NUMBERS

Exercise pills may one day be a reality

It sounds too good to be true, and for now, it is. But since 2004, scientists have been trying to bottle the benefits of working out, and two new papers suggest they're a little bit closer. —Mandy Oaklander

1,004

BODILY CHANGES

That's how many molecular changes occur in the muscles alone—to say nothing of what happens in the rest of the body—after just 10 minutes of exercise, according to an October 2015 study. It's unlikely a pill could ever mimic all of them.



8

DRUGS IN THE WORKS

Several pills are being developed with the hope of giving some of the effects of exercise through molecular pathways; these include hormones, phytochemicals and pharmacological agonists.

10–20

YEARS

That's how long it will be before someone develops a pill that can reliably simulate some of the major benefits of exercise, which include muscle strength and more, says Ismail Laher, a co-author of one of the new papers.



DATA**THE FINEST HIGHWAYS**

The 2015 World Economic Forum report ranks countries by global competitiveness using measures including the quality of their roads. Here's a sampling of who made the top 20:

**Milestones****DIED**

► **Playwright Brian Friel**, 86, whom many described as the Irish Chekhov. He received his first Tony nomination for the play *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* and won Best Play for *Dancing at Lughnasa*; Meryl Streep starred in the film adaptation. Friel was keenly interested in the Irish language and how it had been colonized by the English.

► **Henning Mankell**, 67, Swedish novelist best known for his *Inspector Kurt Wallander* series, including mysteries like *Faceless Killers* and *The Troubled Man*; Kenneth Branagh starred in a popular TV adaptation for the BBC. Mankell was considered a leader in the now ubiquitous Nordic noir genre.



LOST AT SEA **El Faro** U.S. cargo ship

EVEN A 790-FT. CARGO SHIP IS no match for a hurricane. The ship, *El Faro*, disappeared Oct. 1 on its way from Florida to Puerto Rico. Officials believe it was swallowed by Hurricane Joaquin, the Category 4 storm whose flooding wreaked havoc in South Carolina.

After rescuers found a field of debris and one unidentifiable

body, Coast Guard Captain Mark Fedor said the focus would shift to finding survivors, not the boat. And he held out hope of rescuing some of the 33 crew members who had been on board, 28 from the U.S. and five from Poland. But at sunset on Oct. 7, the search was set to be suspended, with no survivors found. It remains unclear exactly why the 40-year-old ship failed to withstand the storm. The owner and U.S. regulators are investigating. —SARAH BEGLEY

GOP rules could bring a messy fight to the nominating convention

By Zeke J. Miller

THREE YEARS AGO AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION in Tampa, a group of party elders changed the GOP rule book. Only candidates who won a majority of the delegates in eight states should be eligible to be nominated in 2016, they decided. It seemed like a good idea at the time.

That rule has since become just one more reason the presidential nomination fight could drag out into the spring, perhaps even all the way to the GOP convention in Cleveland. A rare combination of players, politics and party rules has officials increasingly worried about a protracted fight that could benefit Democrats.

"This is totally uncharted waters for any national political party," warns Richard Hohlt, a Washington lobbyist who is one of many GOP insiders sounding the alarm. Inside headquarters, senior party officials acknowledge that the coming fight will be "intense."

The concern is a reversal for the GOP, which is traditionally the more ordered of the two parties, following long-established rules that are largely

invisible to voters. Those rules, party elders have discovered, can cut both ways. Here's why.

TOO MANY RIVALS: The main complication is the sheer number of candidates. At 15, the Republican field is almost double the next largest in history. This has complicated polling and debates, but

'This is totally uncharted waters.'

RICHARD HOHLT,
a Republican lobbyist
concerned about the
coming nomination fight

the bigger impact could come this spring. Many candidates have pinned their hopes on winning over opponents' voters once those opponents drop out. That makes the race a waiting game.

TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY: In 2016, more GOP delegates than ever before will be awarded on the basis of the popular vote in each state, as opposed to the GOP's old (and less democratic) practice of awarding delegates on a winner-take-all basis. This



Party chair Priebus predicts there will be a nominee by early spring

virtually guarantees multiple winners through the first six weeks of voting and could deprive the party of an early front runner who could quickly wrap up the nomination.

SPRING BREAK! Just when a front runner might have emerged, the GOP calendar includes a spring break from mid-March to mid-April. Fewer than 8% of the delegates will be awarded over the course of that month, possibly sapping momentum from the leader. Less-well-funded challengers will have time to regroup in the hopes of pulling off surprise upsets in late April and May.

TOO MANY SUGAR DADDIES: For decades, candidates who lost early state contests were forced out when their money dried up. But the new wealthy donor class writing multimillion-dollar checks to candidates' super PACs could help early losers by providing the backup of costly campaign-ad buys down the stretch. A candidate like Texas Senator Ted Cruz could keep his crusade alive for weeks or even months longer than under the old system.

CHERRY-PICKING: Candidates are revising their strategies to prepare for a race in which every delegate matters. Cruz has deployed staffers to Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands in hopes of picking up the delegates needed to mount a challenge at the convention. Meanwhile, Jeb Bush's campaign is working to lock down supporters well

beyond the March 1 states in preparation for the long slog.

Officially, party bosses say there is no need to panic. The party chairman, Reince Priebus, predicts there will be a nominee by early spring. He's counting on the political laws of gravity to force underperforming candidates from the race in a timely fashion. (A lack of money and momentum has already ushered out Wisconsin's Scott Walker and Texas' Rick Perry.) But Priebus is nonetheless concerned enough about a deadlocked race that he has quietly reached out to a handful of GOP veterans to help him think through the problem.

They will consider such thorny issues as what to do about the 2012 rule requiring nominees to have won eight states. That rule can always be rewritten at the convention, say party bigwigs, if it will help speed selection of a nominee. But last-minute rule changes by party insiders would likely be met with fury from a rank and file not accustomed to the tyranny of the smoke-filled room. The fear in Washington is that the forces that have propelled Donald Trump and Ben Carson in the polls and exiled Speaker of the House John Boehner from Congress will unify to challenge other convention rules as the event approaches.

"We're seeing the pitchforks ascendant in Washington," one party graybeard observes. "Just wait until they realize what trouble they can cause in Cleveland." □

ROUNDUP

The war on plastic bags



The U.K. introduced a controversial 5-pence (\$0.08) tax Oct. 5 on every plastic bag, joining other places where lawmakers have tried to curb the use of the nonbiodegradable polyethylene bags:

DENMARK

Introduced a tax as long ago as 1994 to encourage stores to charge for plastic bags. By 2014, Denmark had the lowest plastic-bag use in Europe, with each resident using an average of just four a year.

BANGLADESH

Became the first country to ban plastic bags completely in 2002 after some of the 9 million bags discarded daily were found to have blocked sewers, causing deadly floods.

RWANDA

In 2008 instituted a ban so strict that officials confiscate plastic bags at airport customs and issue \$150 fines to people caught using them. Smugglers selling bags on the black market risk fines of over \$400.

CALIFORNIA

Was due to introduce the U.S.'s first statewide ban on plastic bags in July, but opponents in the plastics industry secured enough signatures to put the ban on the ballot in November 2016.
—Naina Bajekal

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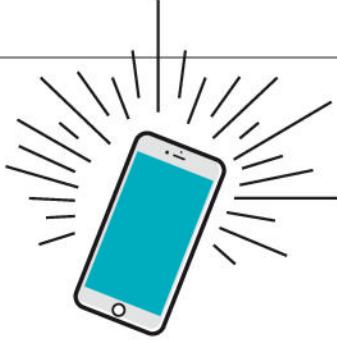


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How you buy a cell phone is changing all over again—again

IT WAS A BLOCKBUSTER OPENING WEEKEND. ON SEPT. 28, APPLE ANNOUNCED IT HAD SOLD 13 MILLION iPhones in the three previous days, its most ever during a launch. It wasn't just the new iPhone 6s's features that attracted customers. The Cupertino, Calif.-based company also introduced a new way to pay for it, allowing consumers to lease a phone for a small monthly fee and to upgrade to a new model every year. "I left the store with the phone I wanted without being tied into a contract," says Joseph Morris, 34, an IT administrator from Papillion, Neb., who bought two new iPhones under the plan.

Almost every detail of phone buying has been scrambled over the past few months. Goaded by the relatively small T-Mobile, major carriers like Verizon Wireless have ditched two-year contracts, a longtime industry staple. Many, like AT&T and Sprint, offer both traditional and contract-free plans. Customers can either buy phones at full price, or finance them over the long term as they would with Apple. And upstart services like Republic Wireless are finding ways to keep monthly costs low by using local wireless networks for calls and web browsing. Analysts say the shake-up is a mixed blessing for consumers, who now face more factors to consider than ever. Here's a closer look at the shifts in phone buying. —ALEX FITZPATRICK

A raft of new phone-buying options means:

MORE CARRIERS TO CHOOSE FROM

Unlocked phones that work with any carrier are now common. They make it simpler for customers to hop from provider to provider in search of the best deals. But such phones are typically sold at full price, which may cause sticker shock. New experimental carriers, like Google's Project Fi, use a combination of typical cellular networks and local wi-fi networks to lower monthly bills. The variety of handsets that work with the service is still limited, however.

EXAMPLE: Verizon's new plans cost **\$65 per month** for unlimited talk and text and 3GB of mobile data. Google's Project Fi costs **\$50 per month** for unlimited talk and text and 3GB of mobile data.

MORE WAYS TO BUY A PHONE

Apple's iPhone Upgrade Program entitles consumers to a new iPhone every year for a monthly fee that starts at around \$32. That's good for early adopters who always want the most up-to-date hardware and don't want to wait two years to get it. But customers who participate are also paying for the company's hardware-repair plan—making the package more expensive in the long run. Apple rival Samsung is said to be working on a similar plan for its Google Android-powered devices.

EXAMPLE: An iPhone 6s 16GB costs **\$649 up front**, and the same phone bought as part of Apple's upgrade plan costs **\$778.80 over two years**.

MORE FREEDOM TO SWITCH PLANS

The end of two-year contracts also means no more early-termination fees, freeing up shoppers to switch to the carrier offering the best deals on mobile Internet access and other services. This especially benefits customers who already have a phone capable of operating on different networks. But buying a phone via a carrier's monthly payment plan still means getting stuck on that service until you pay for the device in full, which locks you in the way long-term contracts do.

EXAMPLE: A Samsung Galaxy S6 32GB on AT&T with a two-year contract costs **\$129.99, plus the price of service**. The same device comes to **\$585, paid in installments of \$19.50 over 30 months**.





CLIMATE

A hurricane misses, but the floods come anyway

USUALLY THE PASSING OF A HURRICANE offshore brings a sigh of relief. But whatever breath of fresh air South Carolina officials felt when Hurricane Joaquin drifted out to sea must have faded quickly. Winds far from the center of the storm combined with other weather conditions to cause flooding, killing at least 15 people and closing hundreds of roads and bridges. Tens of thousands of residents were left without power or clean water for days.

Governor Nikki Haley declared the flooding a rarity expected only once in 1,000 years. Indeed, a confluence of unanticipated circumstances—exceptionally high tides, extended rain and an already inundated water system—caught officials off guard.

But climate scientists say it's time we started anticipating such events. Climate change has raised sea levels and increased hurricane frequency, both of which contributed to South Carolina's situation. Elsewhere, melting snowpacks and increased precipitation will flood streets in the coming decade. From coast to coast, extreme weather and its consequences just aren't all that unusual anymore.

—JUSTIN WORLAND

Residents use a canoe to navigate the flooded streets of Columbia, S.C.

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN RAYFORD—
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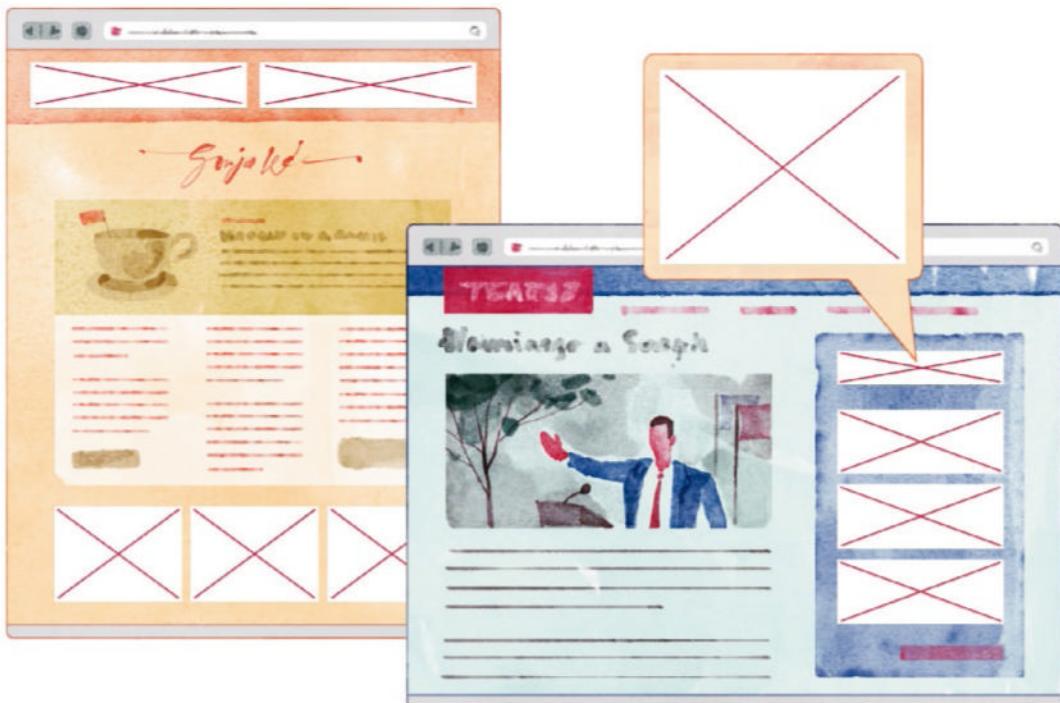


PARTNERING TOGETHER TO END WORLD HUNGER



TheView

'THE CRAZY EYES ARE APPARENTLY SOMETHING THAT I JUST CANNOT HELP' —PAGE 30



Companies like Facebook and Google don't sell services, they sell our time and attention

TECHNOLOGY

Our attention is just a pawn in the great game of Silicon Valley

By Lev Grossman

THE ETHICS OF AD BLOCKING—LIKE death, and the previous occupants of your hotel room—falls under the heading of things nobody wants to think about. Unfortunately, if you're alive and use the Internet, it concerns you personally. What's more, it's just the tip of a very large iceberg that is going to chill the world around you, like it or not. And you probably won't like it. So maybe better to think about it now.

A quick review: right now being on the Internet means being exposed to advertising. It's like fluoride in the water—it's everywhere. Fortunately you can change that using ad-blocking software, which filters out most ads so you don't have to see them. Ad blockers have existed for years—a report issued in August by PageFair, a company that monitors them, claimed that

198 million people use them. They're in the news now because Apple just made it possible for ad blockers to work with Safari, the iPhone's built-in Web browser, for the first time.

Unfortunately, like most ideas that appear unambiguously good, ad blocking isn't, not quite. The reason you see ads online is that the people who make the websites you visit sell advertising space on them; that is to a lesser or greater extent how they get paid. Which in itself is sort of bizarre, if you think about it: what they're really selling is your attention, an invisible, unquantifiable commodity that they harvest and then sell to ad servers, who resell it to companies who want you to pay attention to them. You didn't think Google made its money selling search results, did you? Search

results are free. Google is an ad-serving company—last year that was 90% of its revenue. Facebook is also an ad-serving company—92%. For Facebook your entire personal life is just the phosphorescent lure of an anglerfish, attracting attention so that advertisers can devour it.

When you visit a website but block its ads, you're declining to give its creators the advertisers' money. Depending on how you look at it, this either makes you a cheapskate who is content to watch all of journalism wither and die for your personal comfort, or a righteous warrior against ugly, badly coded, bandwidth-hogging ads that moreover track your browsing behavior in creepy ways.

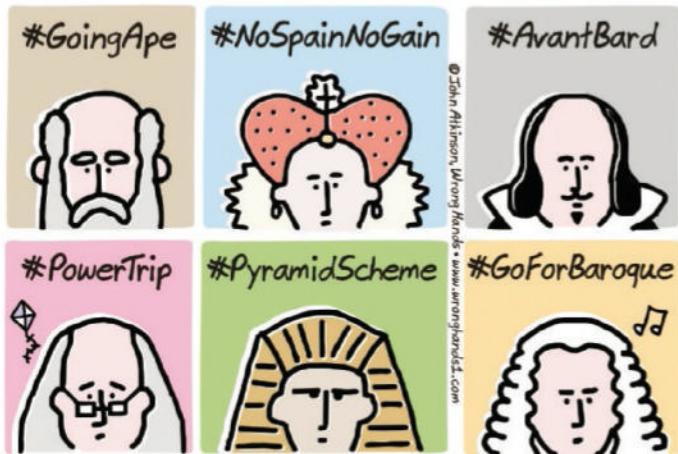
The root problem here is the jerry-built nature of the attention economy itself, in which everybody participates but most people only semi-consciously consent to. But the most obvious alternative—readers paying directly for content using actual money—has yet to prove itself as viable. There are just too many free (or at least ad-supported) alternatives. The New York Times announced in August that it has a million digital subscribers, which is an impressive number, but almost 60 million people read the *Times* online. That's less than 2%.

If a website has the money, it can invest in what's called native advertising, which looks more like the site's own content and is harder to block. It can also throw itself into the arms of Facebook, which hosts articles in its own walled garden, where its ads can't be blocked, and splits the revenue with the creators. Not coincidentally, another new feature on your iPhone is an app called Apple News, which offers content creators a similar proposition.

And that's where we get a look at the bigger picture. Apple isn't just cleaning up ads here. It's taking a shot at Google, whose ad revenues increasingly come from mobile ads—and mobile web traffic is dominated by iPhones. No ads, no revenue. For Apple this isn't about content, and still less about ethics. This is about money. To content creators ad blocking is an existential threat, but it's really just a stray bullet from a street fight between two corporate behemoths.

We've entered a looking-glass world where entire content industries are so much smaller than the high-tech companies that broker and distribute them that they're reduced to pawns in the great game of Silicon Valley. According to the Interactive Advertising Bureau, all the digital advertising sold in the U.S. in the first quarter of this year was worth \$13.3 billion. In the same quarter Apple alone earned almost six times that: \$74.6 billion. We as human beings need content, but Apple doesn't, not really, not anymore, and if it ceases to be useful, well, who knows what might happen? Maybe it's better not to think about it after all. □

CHARTOON Historic hashtags



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

VERBATIM

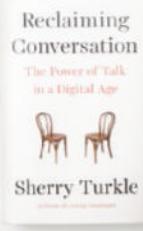
'Is it such a horrible thing that she pretended to be black? Black is a great thing, and I think she legit changed people's perspective a bit and woke people up.'

RIHANNA, singer, defending ex-NAACP chapter president Rachel Dolezal as "a bit of a hero" in *Vanity Fair*



THE NUTSHELL **Reclaiming Conversation**

THERE ARE MANY benefits to texting, including faster communication and avoidance of awkward interactions. But in her new book, MIT researcher Sherry Turkle argues that relying too much on virtual messaging is killing our human relationships. There are examples aplenty: teens using phones under the table (instead of talking to their parents), 20-somethings who instant-message at work (instead of mingling with co-workers) and people of all ages now opting to text with friends instead of meeting up. Among college students, such practices led to a 40% decline in empathy, according to one study Turkle cites. "We forget what we miss when we can see someone else's reaction, their expressions, their tone," she tells TIME. Yet even as we become less sensitive, we're also craving contact more than ever. In another study, students who were asked to sit alone without their phones for 15 minutes—severing the line of constant communication—opted for mild electric shock rather than meditation in solitude, which Turkle finds alarming. "I'm not anti-texting," she says. "I'm pro-conversation." —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN



ROUNDUP LAWS OF ATTRACTION

A study published recently in the journal *Current Biology* found that 50% of people's preferences for faces is unique to them—even among identical twins. So what drives attraction if not genetics or familial upbringing? Here are the latest research-backed insights:

SMELL

When women sniff men's shirts, they are more attracted to the odors of men whose MHC molecules (which fight disease) differed from theirs, according to several studies. This makes sense, since it enables the creation of more diverse, protective genes.

VOICE

A 2014 study found women rate men with deep voices as more attractive. For men, the preference was breathiness, whereas earlier research found that higher voices were favored. Clearly, the role of voice in attractiveness is more variable than previously thought.

APPEARANCE

Beyond symmetrical features, people tend to like faces similar to ones they've seen before (in colleagues, for example), as well as those they associate with positive information (like a good friend's physical characteristics). —Alexandra Sifferlin

BIG IDEA

A legal 'market' that lets you gamble on politics

By Alex Altman

A FEW WEEKS AGO, A PASSENGER IN THE café car of an Amtrak train near Wilmington, Del., overheard a juicy rumor. A Joe Biden ally was on his cell phone, promising people that the Vice President was preparing to enter the 2016 campaign. The eavesdropper alerted a reporter, who posted the tidbit online.

Ian Miller read the story and knew just what to do. Logging on to a political-forecasting website called PredictIt, he quickly bet a few hundred dollars that Biden would enter the race. As Miller expected, the odds soared as the news spread. Then he hedged his bets, netting a nice profit.

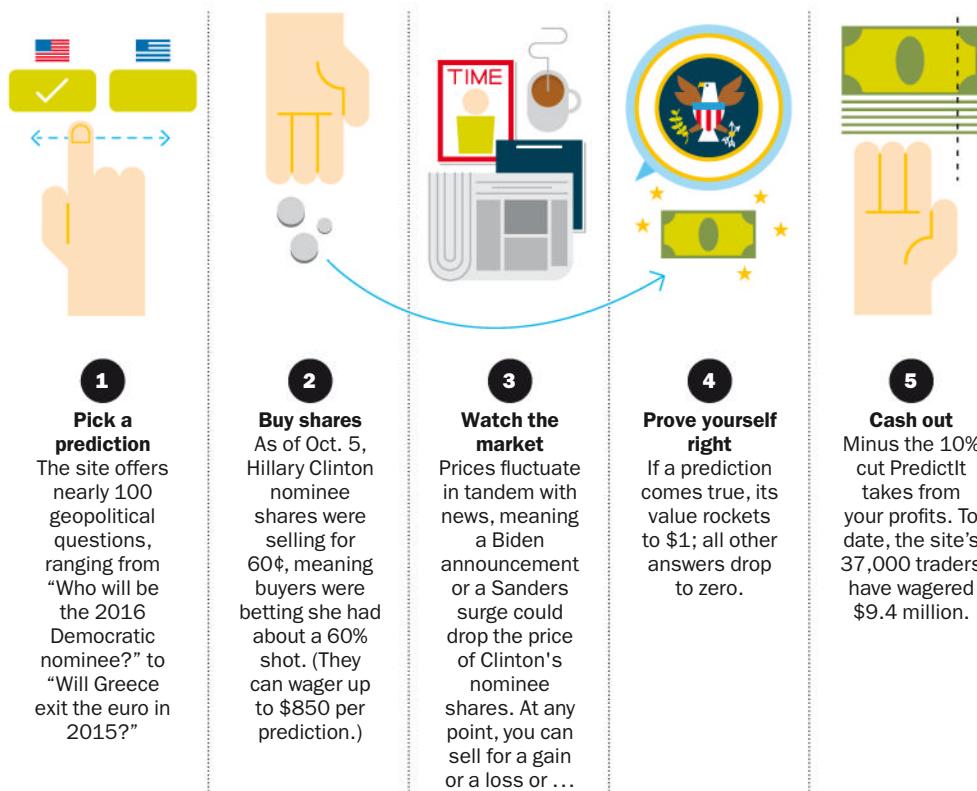
So it has gone all year for Miller. The 24-year-old high school teacher from the suburbs of Chicago has won with online predictions on everything from President Obama's weekly approval rating to the results of the Israeli elections. Miller deposited \$110 in March; now he's up more than \$16,000. "It's been a good couple of months," he says.

Welcome to the new American campaign

casino. PredictIt is just one of several emerging websites that allow legal betting on daily events. The biggest are in the multibillion-dollar fantasy-sports market, led by DraftKings and FanDuel, which lets fans bet on professional athletes' performance. Both companies were roiled by insider-trading allegations in early October after a DraftKings employee with access to company data won a \$350,000 fantasy-football jackpot on FanDuel. The New York State attorney general has opened an inquiry.

PredictIt is different in scale and purpose, but complications remain. Since its debut in October 2014, the nonprofit site has enabled political buffs 18 years or older to forecast political events with the academic goal of testing whether markets can be more accurate than polls or pundits. To date, its 37,000 traders have wagered \$9.4 million on a platform built in a partnership between New Zealand's Victoria University and the Washington political-technology firm Aristotle. (The

HOW PREDICTIT WORKS



latter handles logistics like matching buyers and sellers, and takes a 10% cut of traders' profits.) Market theorists say the use of real money is an incentive for experts to participate, which sharpens the site's forecasts.

Real stakes require rules, which were approved by the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission. Most notably, the amount of money users can wager on each prediction is capped at \$850, a limit designed to discourage market manipulation. It also sets PredictIt apart from Ireland-based Intrade, which reported \$230 million in bets on the 2012 presidential election before it ran afoul of U.S. regulators.

Still, insider trading could prove to be an issue. Although PredictIt bars its own employees from betting, "there's really nothing we can do" if campaign pros, congressional staffers or pollsters choose to capitalize on valuable information, says Brandi Travis, an Aristotle executive.

Take the betting market on the next majority leader of the House of Representatives. When influential Wisconsin Representative Paul Ryan endorsed Representative Tom Price for the post, the Georgian's odds quickly spiked from 15% to 83% before plummeting in the days to follow. Anyone with advance knowledge could have profited. And while there have been no allegations of improper trading, the prospect of an uneven playing field may deter some players in the wake of the fantasy-sports scandal. There's always a "risk that a bunch of people figure they're not one of the insiders, so they take their ball and go home," says Barry Ritholtz, a New York investor and critic of prediction markets.

That hasn't stopped the site from becoming a touchstone for presidential-campaign staffers. Travis says a member of Jeb Bush's campaign told her it tries to assuage doubts among nervous donors by pointing to Bush's odds on the site, where he ranks as the second likeliest GOP nominee, behind Marco Rubio.

For savvy traders like Miller, whose predictions incorporate quantitative modeling, one of the keys to success is separating head from heart. He's happy to make a few bucks off Biden's indecision. But he's voting for Hillary Clinton in the end. □

SNAPSHOT

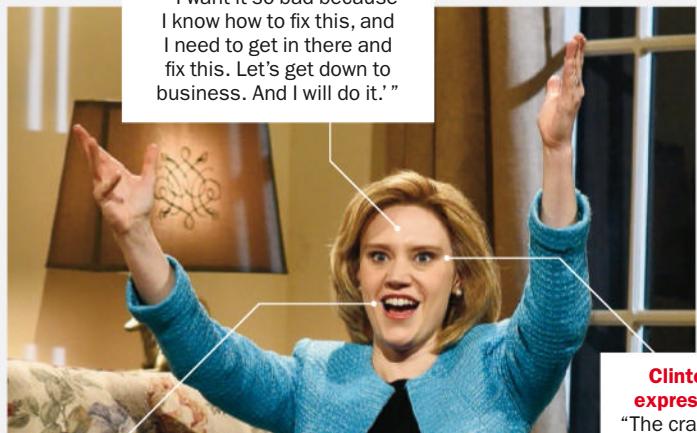
Anatomy of a Hillary Clinton impression

In presidential politics, three things always matter: debate performances, television ads and *Saturday Night Live*. Chevy Chase tagged Gerald Ford as a clumsy fool, Dana Carvey haunted George H.W. Bush, and Tina Fey's impression of Sarah Palin hurt at the worst possible time. For 2016, all eyes are on how *SNL* cast member Kate McKinnon (right and below) handles Hillary Clinton, who visited the show on Oct. 3 as a guest. So TIME asked McKinnon how she approaches her muse. —PHILIP ELLIOTT



Clinton's motivations

"I want it so bad because I know how to fix this, and I need to get in there and fix this. Let's get down to business. And I will do it."



Clinton's expressions

"The crazy eyes are apparently something that I just cannot help."



Clinton's laugh

"She has a throaty, hearty laugh that we've heard. Or maybe I heard it just once and I said, 'That's the laugh that I'm going to do.'



Clinton's demeanor

"I just try to channel her stanchness and sweetness at the same time. It's really the juxtaposition of those two things that makes her funny."

Clinton's suits

"I think they go to a political women's store and buy in bulk. There's a lot of other women politicians who get played on the show. They must have a store of suit jackets somewhere."



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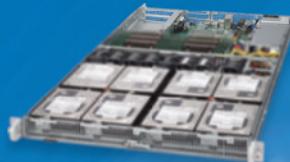
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Six ways to prepare for a (much) longer retirement

By Dan Kadlec

THE NOTION OF A COMFORTABLE RETIREMENT HAS been turned upside down over the past two decades. For the first time, a newborn American is expected to live to 90. Even at 65, you are now presumed to have an additional 22 mostly good years. This historic longevity is challenging every assumption about the golden years, from how you'll spend all that time to how you can hope to pay for it. In one sense, the boomer generation is taking part in a grand and unprecedented experiment. After all, it is the first generation since the Depression to confront longer lives without a secure public safety net. It is practically a given that future retirees will work longer and have to self-fund most of their dreams. But how? The rules of retirement are in constant flux. Here's the latest thinking:



MAKE THE MOST OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Individuals may unwittingly leave lifetime Social Security benefits worth as much as \$100,000 on the table, and a married couple may miss out on up to \$250,000, according to Financial Engines, a benefits manager. There are thousands of claiming strategies, and a small industry of advisers and online tools like those at maximizemysocialsecurity.com has emerged to guide folks.

The most important step is a simple one: Wait until you're 70 to begin collecting Social Security. You become eligible at age 62, but for every year you delay until age 70, the monthly payment grows 6% to 8%. "Unless health is an issue, we generally advise all our clients to wait," says Jon Ulin, a certified financial planner in Boca Raton, Fla.



SECURE A BASE LEVEL OF INCOME

Retirees with enough guaranteed lifetime income to cover their basic expenses tend to be happier and feel most secure. But these days it's up to individuals to ensure that income stream.

One common strategy is withdrawing no more than 4% of your 401(k) balance each year. This gives you a good chance of not running out of money for 30 years. But with today's low rates, financial planners recommend dropping the rate to 3%.

Social Security is guaranteed income. So is any traditional pension benefit. If those two combined do not cover your basic living expenses, Fidelity Investments advises investing up to 30% of your nest egg in a fixed-income annuity, an insurance contract with a large up-front premium that pays a reliable monthly benefit no matter what markets do.



WORK LONGER

No one wants to hear that, right? But when given the choice, 72% of pre-retirees say their ideal retirement includes some work. Working even a few years longer allows you to build savings and delay tapping your nest egg. T. Rowe Price estimates that a typical 60-year-old couple who stay on the job to 70 rather than retiring at 62 would nearly double their monthly income in retirement. "Retirement today is not about building a bigger bucket," says Danielle Howard, a financial planner in Basalt, Colo. "It's about managing your life with what you have." Working also keeps up your social connections, which is good for your health.



PLAN FOR HEALTH CARE

Health problems top the list of worries for those planning to retire—and for good reason. A quarter-century ago, two-thirds of large companies offered retiree health benefits, and today that figure has fallen to one-third, reports Allianz Life Insurance. To better prepare, many retirees are buying insurance that supplements Medicare, such as Medigap and Medicare Advantage, and long-term-care insurance. You stand a good chance of keeping lifetime health costs down if you eat right and stay fit. You might also dedicate the income stream from a pension or Social Security to cover this cost.



RETHINK YOUR HOME

Most retirees want to stay in their homes; that means changes to accommodate aging—no-slip surfaces, no-curb showers, lots of natural light, easy-to-reach storage and low lighting for nighttime mobility.

Some features can be retrofitted into a home for less than \$3,000, including railings and grab bars. Basic modifications to a one-story home run about \$10,000. That's money well spent if it keeps you out of an assisted-living facility, with median costs of \$3,600 a month.



FIND A PURPOSE

Think about what you are retiring to—not from. When you aren't working, there is a vast world of hobbies that give your life purpose and possibly a paycheck. There is also an exploding array of volunteer opportunities, from political campaigns to mentoring to helping at the local school. Some 4.5 million retirees are now in "encore" pursuits in which passion, purpose and a paycheck come together, says Marc Freedman, founder of Encore.org. "These are not bridge jobs," he says. "They are a whole new body of work."



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COMMENTARY

Better health care in Africa must go beyond HIV. For the U.S., it's a cause that advances our interests and our ideals

By George W. Bush

WITH A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION JUST OVER A YEAR AWAY, Americans are witnessing a spirited debate about our country's role in the world. This discussion is healthy for our democracy, and I follow it as a happily retired spectator. In the midst of our differences, there should be at least one issue on which all Americans can agree: helping the people of Africa fight disease advances both our interests and our ideals.

For too long, Africa was viewed as a continent to exploit or ignore. In our early years, Africa was the origin of many American slaves. Later, many saw Africa primarily as a source of raw materials such as diamonds or oil. Meanwhile, the African people suffered terrible hardships—from colonialism to genocide—and the world did not do enough to help.

At the turn of the millennium, Africa faced another devastating challenge. The HIV/AIDS pandemic had killed 10 million people on the continent. In some African countries, estimates indicated that 1 in 4 people carried the HIV virus. Although modern technology had reduced the cost of life-saving drugs, fewer than 50,000 Africans received the medicine they needed to survive.

As President, I found it morally unacceptable for the United States to stand aside while millions of people died from a disease we could treat. I also recognized that saving lives in Africa serves America's strategic interests. When societies abroad are healthier and more prosperous, they are more stable and secure. They become markets for our producers, not exporters of danger or sources of humanitarian crisis.

In 2003, I proposed—and legislators from both parties enacted—the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). Since then, the number of Africans receiving life-saving medicine has grown from 50,000 to more than 7 million. Tens of millions more have benefited from AIDS testing and education about prevention. A continent once on the brink of catastrophe is now living with new hope—a transformation some have described as the “Lazarus effect.” And as African nations have grown in health and stability, our country has benefited.

PEPFAR has been an inspiring success, but that success has revealed new challenges. Researchers have learned that women living with HIV are four to five times more likely to develop cervical cancer. Like AIDS, cervical and breast cancer often strike African women in their most productive years, destabilizing families and communities. Also like AIDS, cervical and breast cancer are largely preventable and treatable.

It makes no sense to save a woman's life from AIDS, only to let her die from treatable or preventable cancer. So four years ago, the policy institute at the George W. Bush Presidential Center partnered with the U.S. government, Susan

'Cervical and breast cancer often strike African women in their most productive years.'

GEORGE W. BUSH



G. Komen and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS to launch an initiative called Pink Ribbon Red Ribbon. Working with local partners in Africa, we have screened nearly 200,000 women for signs of cervical cancer. We have screened more than 6,000 women for breast cancer. And more than 40,000 adolescent girls have received vaccines to protect against the virus that causes cervical cancer.

LAURA AND I have seen the results of Pink Ribbon Red Ribbon up close while refurbishing health clinics in Zambia. Before the clinic we worked on in Livingstone opened, women lined up outside for cancer screenings. Although some women in line looked apprehensive, many looked joyful, because they understood that this simple medical procedure could save their lives.

Pink Ribbon Red Ribbon is making a difference, and it is growing. The initiative now includes more than 20 private-sector organizations, including major medical-research companies and charitable foundations. At the Global Women's Network summit last month at the Bush Center, ambassador Deborah Birx announced that PEPFAR will contribute an additional \$7 million to Pink Ribbon Red Ribbon, meaning that the generosity of the American people will continue to support the fight against AIDS and women's cancer in Africa.

Spreading health and hope in Africa is a cause worthy of our great nation. This work reflects American compassion and reinforces American interests. Promoting stability abroad protects our security here at home. Whatever other foreign policy disagreements may arise over the course of this campaign, saving lives in Africa is one priority that should remain beyond debate.

Bush was the 43rd President of the U.S.

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IN THE ARENA

As chaos grows in Syria, Iran could be a surprising American ally

By Joe Klein

LET'S BEGIN WITH THE OBVIOUS: THERE ARE NO easy answers in the Middle East. We should know that by now. We've had plenty of experience. And so reasonably informed citizens should hold onto their wallets, and their votes, when politicians (and columnists) make stark declarative statements about the region. The truth is, there hasn't been a successful act of outside military intervention in the Middle East since George H.W. Bush's stringent Operation Desert Storm in 1991, which was carried out with robust Arab support—and the subsequent no-fly zones that limited Saddam Hussein's power in Iraq.

So when assorted Republicans—including almost all the GOP presidential candidates—say that Vladimir Putin is “eating Obama’s lunch in Syria,” it is safe to assume they are wrong. Indeed, the President is probably right that Putin, the desperate presider over a collapsing economy, is wading into “a quagmire” there, a last-ditch attempt to save Bashar Assad’s regime that will inflame the Saudis and end disastrously. But since this is the Middle East, the President doesn’t have it completely right, either. The Russian quagmire is our own. We’re stuck in Syria too—stuck between our national-security interest, which is the defeat of ISIS, even if it means keeping Assad in power, and the interest of our putative allies, the Saudis, who vehemently oppose Assad.

Mohammad Javad Zarif, the Iranian Foreign Minister, recently passed through New York City

for a series of meetings. One, with his fellow alumni from the University of Denver, was on the record. Others were private, but

the message was the same: The major problem in the Middle East is a rogue strain of Islam, invented by Saudi Arabia’s Wahhabis, that has given rise to radical Islamic movements—unlike Obama, Zarif isn’t afraid to use that term—like ISIS, al-Qaeda and the Taliban.

Israelis will disagree. There’s also Hezbollah, fully backed by Iran, which poses an immediate threat to their country (if not ours). But Zarif has a point: the Saudis have been the overwhelming source of not only World Trade Center bombers

Our Middle East policy has been badly out of whack because of our lack of contact with Iran

The fight over Syria

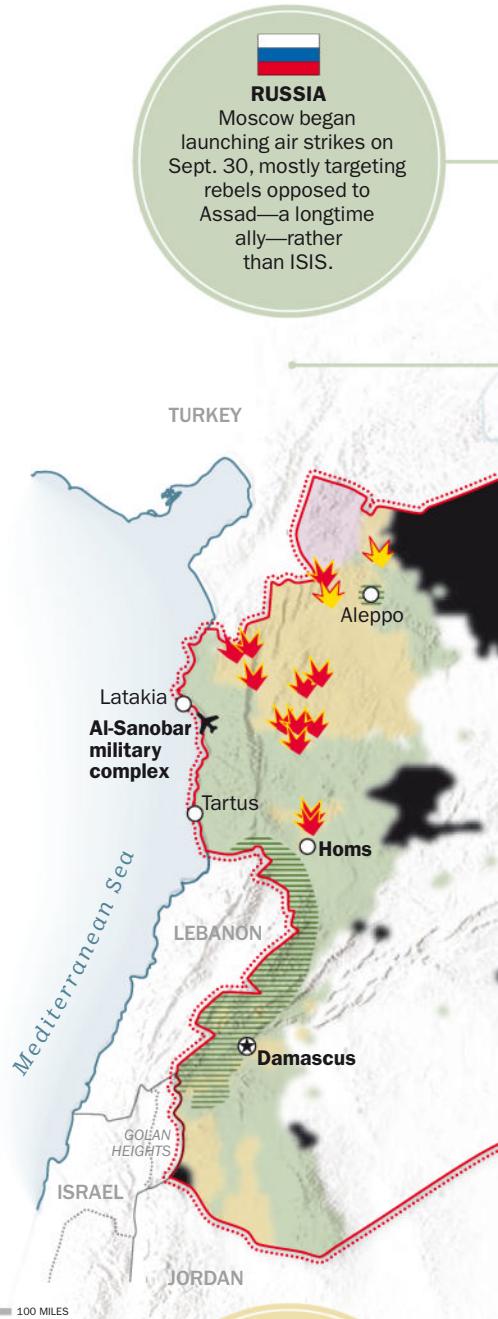
Russian entry into the long-running civil war has made an already horrific conflict bloodier—and even more confusing

AREAS OF CONTROL

- Assad's forces
- Hizballah presence
- Opposition forces
- Kurds
- ISIS
- ▼ Russian air strikes
- Recent U.S.-led air strikes

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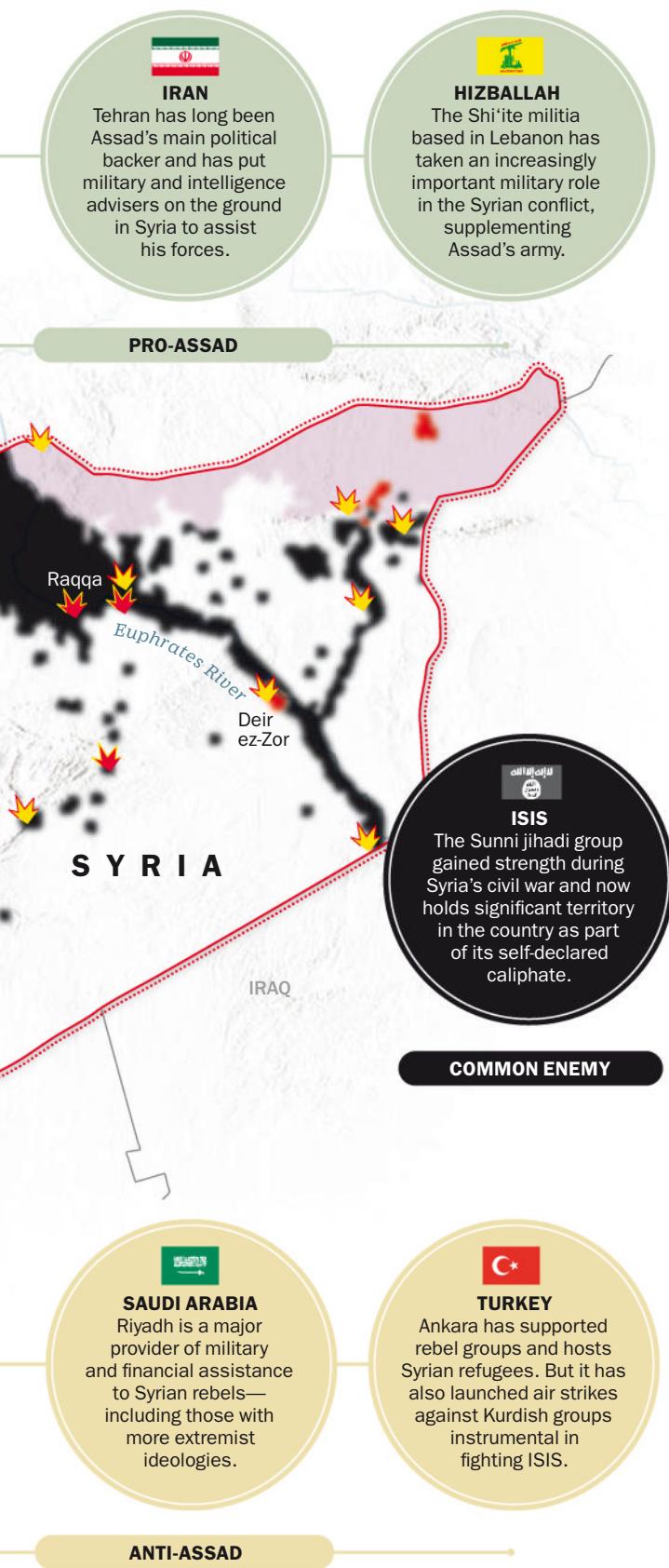
SOURCES: THE CARTER CENTER; INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF WAR; NEWS REPORTS



RUSSIA
Moscow began launching air strikes on Sept. 30, mostly targeting rebels opposed to Assad—a longtime ally—rather than ISIS.



U.S.
Washington has been conducting air strikes against ISIS and supports moderate Syrian rebels. But the U.S. has been unsuccessful in removing Assad.



but also radical Islamic missionaries, who have used religious schools—madrasahs—to spread a doctrine of hatred through the Islamic world. And that ideology does represent a direct threat to America. As Zarif pointed out, ISIS has no influence on Shi'ite Iranians, but the Saudi public "is more sympathetic." After all, the Saudis have been schooled by Wahhabis too.

The fact is, our Middle East policy has been badly out of whack because of our lack of contact with Iran. We have been enthralled by the Saudis—yes, oil and Iranian intransigence had something to do with it—but, finally, we are no longer stuck with them. It's good that Obama has been working to reassure the kingdom that we haven't "changed sides" after the Iran nuclear deal, but the reassurances should be kept within reason. We shouldn't be backing the Saudis in their Yemen quagmire, especially since it seems the Iranians may be willing to help negotiate an end to the fight. "The Saudis are not willing to have discussions with us about this," Zarif said at the University of Denver event. Of course, Zarif's ability to negotiate is proscribed by the Iranian military, which supports the Shi'ite rebels in Yemen.

And then there's Syria. Our interests don't align completely with Iran there—Zarif isn't shy about his alliance with Russia and Assad, backed by Hizballah forces—but, as with Yemen, he has been trying to sell a negotiated solution for months, a four-step plan that involves a ceasefire, a regional diplomatic process to restore basic government services in Syria, ending in free elections. "There's some merit to it," a former American diplomat with experience in the region told me. "But it would have more credibility if Assad took the first step and stopped using barrel bombs against his own people—and the last step: a guarantee he won't participate in the elections." The fact is, despite Obama's foolish "Assad must go" pledge, our national interests lie closer to the Shi'ites than the Saudis in this most important case. We can hold our nose and tolerate Assad, for the moment, but we cannot allow ISIS to win control of Syria, or Iraq ... or Afghanistan, where ISIS terrorists are a growing threat, a direct threat to Iran's eastern border.

Zarif's Syria plan is as unlikely to succeed as any of the other nonproposals out there, but it does reflect a stark reality: that Iran will have to be involved in any diplomatic solutions going forward, despite Saudi opposition, especially those that involve the explosive Sunni-Shi'ite rift. In the end, there is one simple declarative sentence that actually works: Our top priority is destroying ISIS. The U.S. will work to find common ground with any country in the region that promises a strong response against the Islamic State. □

The Great

Rarely in modern history have so many brave, and tragic, journeys are reshapi



Refugees wait in Nickelsdorf, Austria, on the Hungarian border, a major entry point for migrants from the Middle East

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MASSIMO VITALI FOR TIME

Migration

been so desperate to flee. Now their
ng Europe and the world **By Karl Vick**



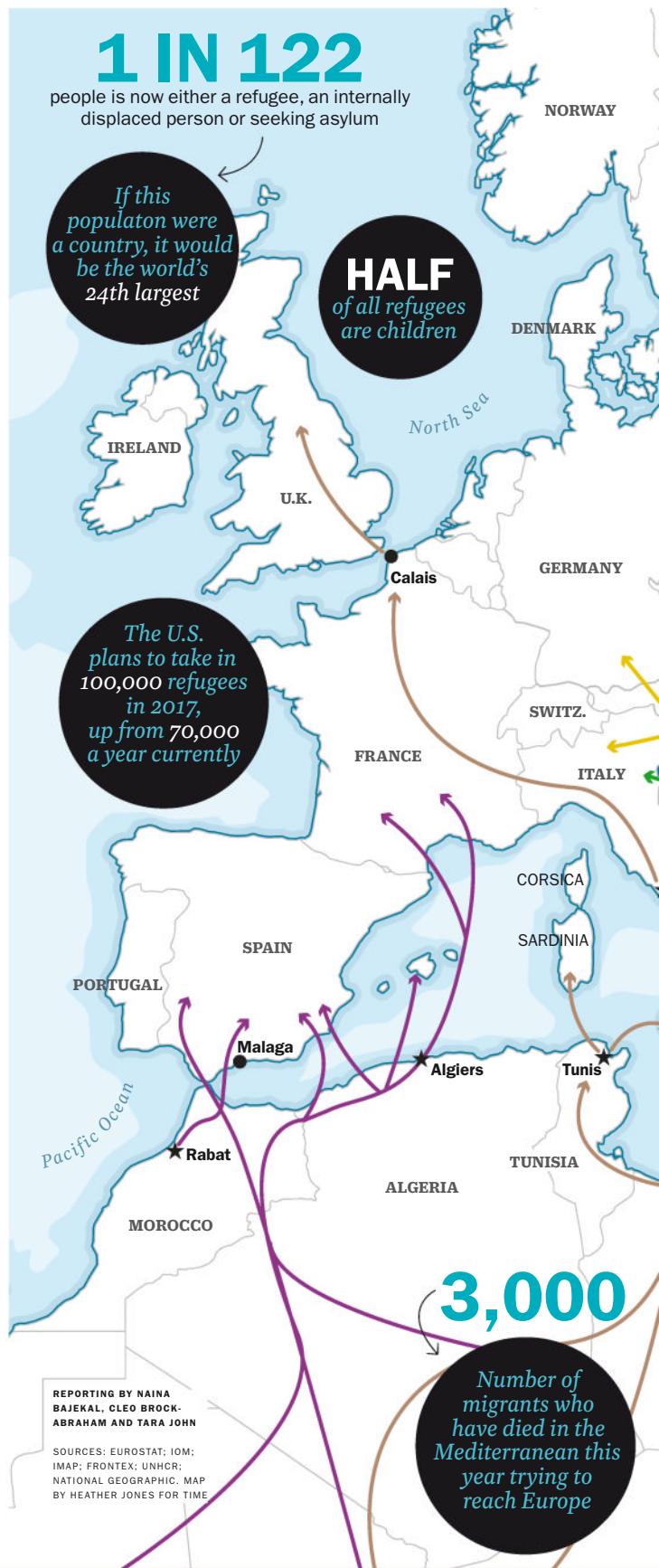
Americans think of themselves as a mobile people, pulling up stakes for new jobs, moving often.

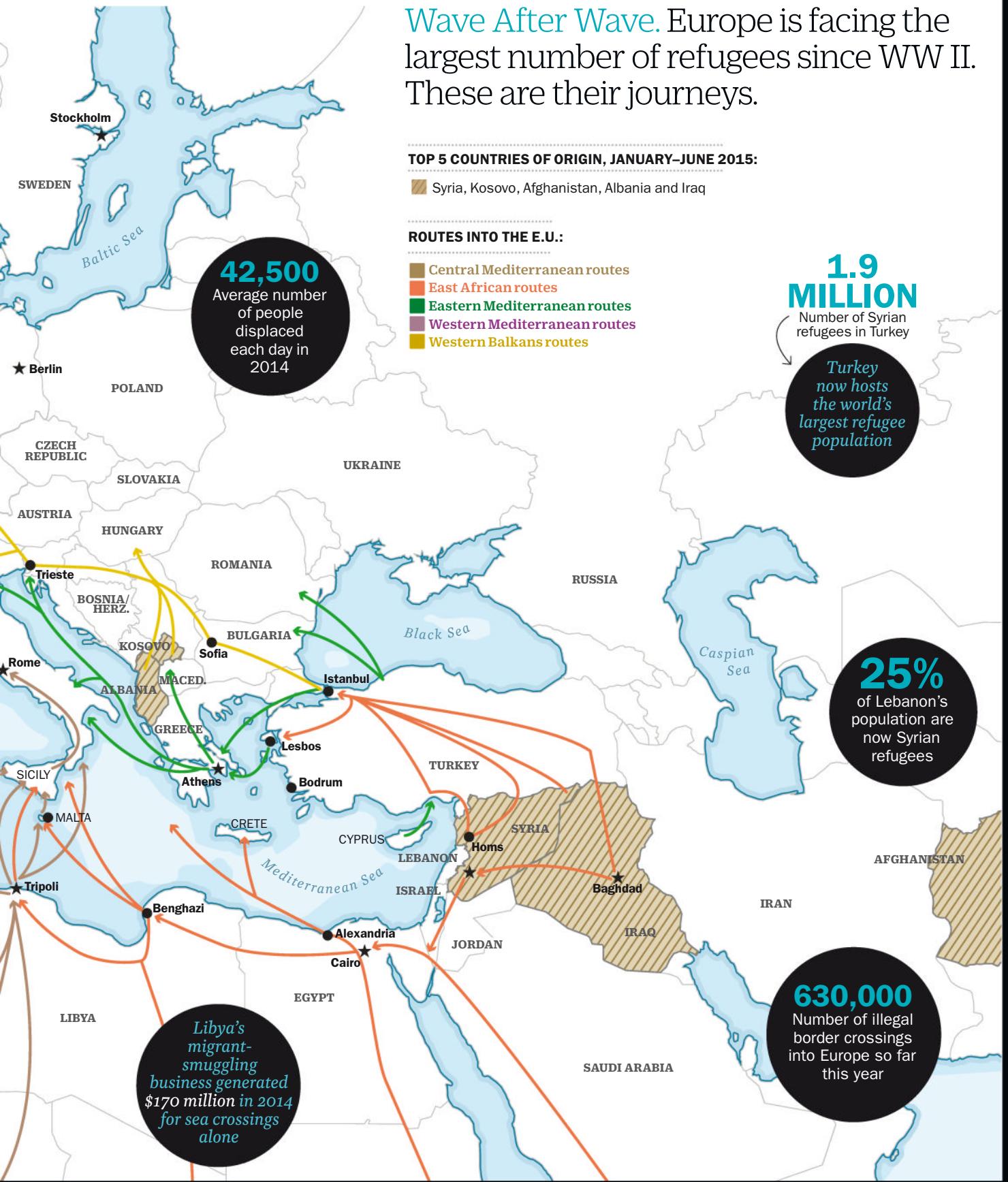
The U.S. Census Bureau reports that in recent years, roughly every 9th person gets a new address. But Americans tend not to venture far—2 out of 3 moves end in the same county; only 16% cross a state line. And just 3% leave the country, a prospect of dislocation that leaves many mortified and, at some primal level relevant to Europe's migrant crisis, unsettles even the worldliest. Why else do seasoned travelers ask, "Can someone meet me at the airport?"

Airports are not scary. They are purposely bland, simple to navigate, reassuringly similar. What's scary is the uncertainty embedded in any journey, a vague foreboding that informed the theory of a flat earth, which merely assumed the horizon was exactly what it appears to be: a precipice. Beyond lay a void like the one at the pit of the stomach when you find yourself in a place where you know no one, darkness is gathering and nothing is like back home.

So when Syrians began emerging from the Aegean Sea this summer, scrambling for footing on the submerged stones that form the doorstep of Europe, the sight produced what 220,000 deaths had not: a surge of fellow feeling. But then few Westerners have actually seen war, and almost no one has witnessed the kind of violence that is emptying Syria, a confounding conflict involving some 7,000 armed groups. The Middle East more than ever seems an excellent place to leave behind, even if it means entering the realm of the migrant.

It's a crowded realm. More than 600,000 people have entered Europe so far this year, cascading in at a rate—sometimes 10,000 a day—that underprepared, overwhelmed governments quickly declared a crisis. And yet the Syrians—along with the Iraqis and Afghans in the same rubber dinghies—are only the most visible flotsam in a wider and scarcely less insistent stream of human beings, an almost tidal flow that has been running for decades from poorer countries to richer. It leads from Latin America to the U.S., from Burma toward refuge in Malaysia and in most of the





Austrian police and army personnel in Nickelsdorf organize groups of migrants as they prepare to be loaded onto buses to take them further into Europe





rest of the world—Africa, the Middle East, much of Asia—toward the European Union. “It’s not going to stop,” says Behzad Yaghmaian, a professor of political economy at Ramapo College of New Jersey, who wrote *Embracing the Infidel: Stories of Muslim Migrants on the Journey West*. “Because of globalization, you have awareness of life elsewhere in the world. That’s crucial now. So you move.”

Do you have a signal?

When the travelers climb out of a boat on a Greek island, many raise their arms—first in thanks, and then, a second time, to take a selfie. The images of relief and joy are then uploaded from the smartphone that made the crossing swaddled in plastic bags and rubber bands. “My whole life’s on my phone” is no exaggeration here. In refugee camps, the U.N. distributes local SIM cards for phones and solar generators to charge them. The migrants make their way to new lives by GPS coordinates posted on Facebook or WhatsApp by those who have gone before. Glowing posts on social networks—which border crossing is open, what smuggler can be trusted—are the constellations that guided the travelers to Europe this summer, first in a trickle and soon a torrent. The largest movement of refugees since the end of World War II appeared first in groups of 20 or 30, then in hundreds, trudging down rail beds, emerging from cornfields, and crowding the shoulders of freeways.

If it sounds a little like a zombie movie, the association was not lost on many Europeans, watching from the comfort of their homes. The Periscope application streams video live from wherever someone is holding up a camera phone, and allows viewers to type in comments as they watch. Those comments appear over the live video: action and reaction all on one screen. On Sept. 2, photojournalist Patrick Witty streamed images of inflatable boats coming ashore on Lesbos, and as the exuberant Middle Easterners climbed out, the comments began as gushes:

“God bless”

“Welcome”

“The kids are all okay? OMG.”

Then:

“The invasion of Europe.”

“All Arabs are maggots.”

“Stop the hate talk or I’ll report you.”

Before long the back and forth filled the screen, blocking out the people climbing out of boats. The same will likely happen in person where the migrants

Defining differences

The language we use to describe the millions of people on the move reflects distinctions in their legal status

Migrant The umbrella term for people who have left their country of origin. This includes everyone from international students to workers entering countries illegally in search of a better life.

Refugee Refugee status is granted to people who have fled their home country because of war or because they have suffered (or feared) persecution. Under international law, refugees cannot be returned home against their will.

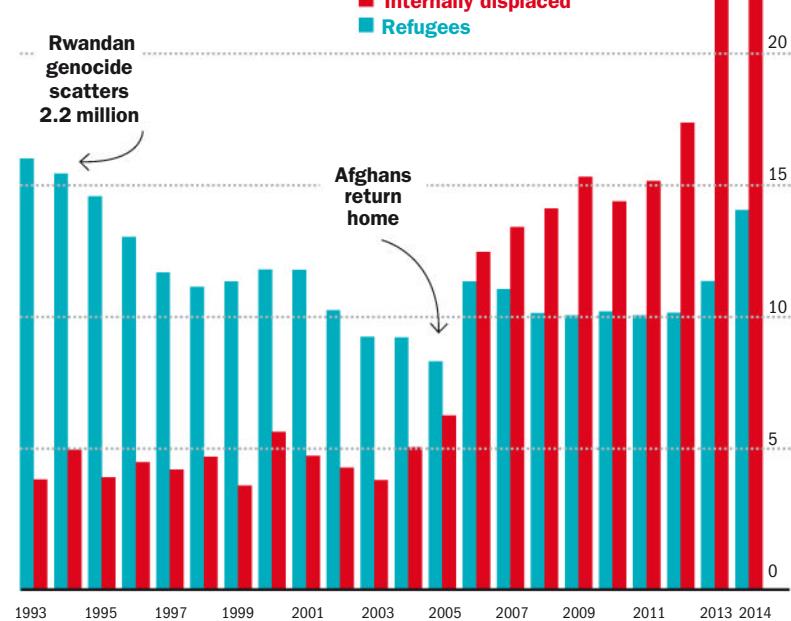
Internally displaced person (IDP) Someone who, out of fear for personal safety, left his or her home but not the country. In 2014, an estimated 30,000 people became IDPs every day.

Asylum seeker Any person who is applying for protection in another country. In Europe the country is obliged to house, feed and protect asylum seekers while weighing the application, which might take years to decide. If granted, asylum assures the right to live, work and access health care in the country. A denial may be appealed once; if denied again, the person may be deported to his or her country of origin.

Stateless Someone who does not have a nationality recognized by any country because of discrimination, redrawing of borders or gaps in nationality laws. There are about 10 million stateless people worldwide.

Global dislocation

Over the past quarter-century, the number of displaced people has reached a staggering high



finally end up—provided the E.U. decides where that is. Right-wing parties that promote nativism and xenophobia were already on the rise in France, Greece and other E.U. nations well before the latest surge of migrants. Sitting governments in Hungary, the Czech Republic and, more quietly, many of the other 28 E.U. members warn the new arrivals will compete with residents for jobs, government benefits and, ultimately, the identity of Europe. Most migrants are Muslim, so the baggage includes security concerns as well.

"There is definitely a battle of values, with compassion on one side and fear on the other," says António Guterres, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. But as the E.U. argues where to put the million-plus expected by year's end, he points out that the 1 million Syrians in Lebanon account for a quarter of that tiny country's population. The more than 600,000 in Europe so far this year boost the continent's population by less than 1%. "It's clear," he tells TIME, "that Europe has to get its act together."

How it happened

What do refugees look like? In Africa, they're easy to spot. Find a war, proceed to the nearest international border, and they're the people just beyond it, huddled under the standard blue tarps issued by the United

Nations. Lacking the means to set off anywhere else, they wait to return home. A map of refugee flows in Africa looks like a chart of central Pacific currents—whorls describing a huge circle.

In Europe, Syrians wade ashore in blue jeans. One's a pediatrician. Another made music videos. All count as refugees, because they are fleeing war or persecution, the legal definition settled on in 1951 by most of the world amid the postwar debris. The idea was protection, and the good of it could be seen aboard a Greek coast-guard vessel in the early hours of Sept. 7, moments after 40 people were lifted from a rubber boat. Mohamad Balhas, 26, was explaining first why he had been arrested by the Syrian police who tortured him in custody: "Because we don't love that bastard Bashar." He was instantly hushed by a friend—a reflexive reaction in a police state. Then a second friend remembered where they were. "No, it's okay," he said. "You can say it now." The three looked at each other for a long moment, then broke out laughing.

In relative terms, it can actually be good to be a refugee. At least it's better than being a "migrant," a legal status afforded no special protection under international law, and a label applied to some 240 million people across the globe who have crossed borders, often seeking work. They are Indians building soccer

A year of asylum

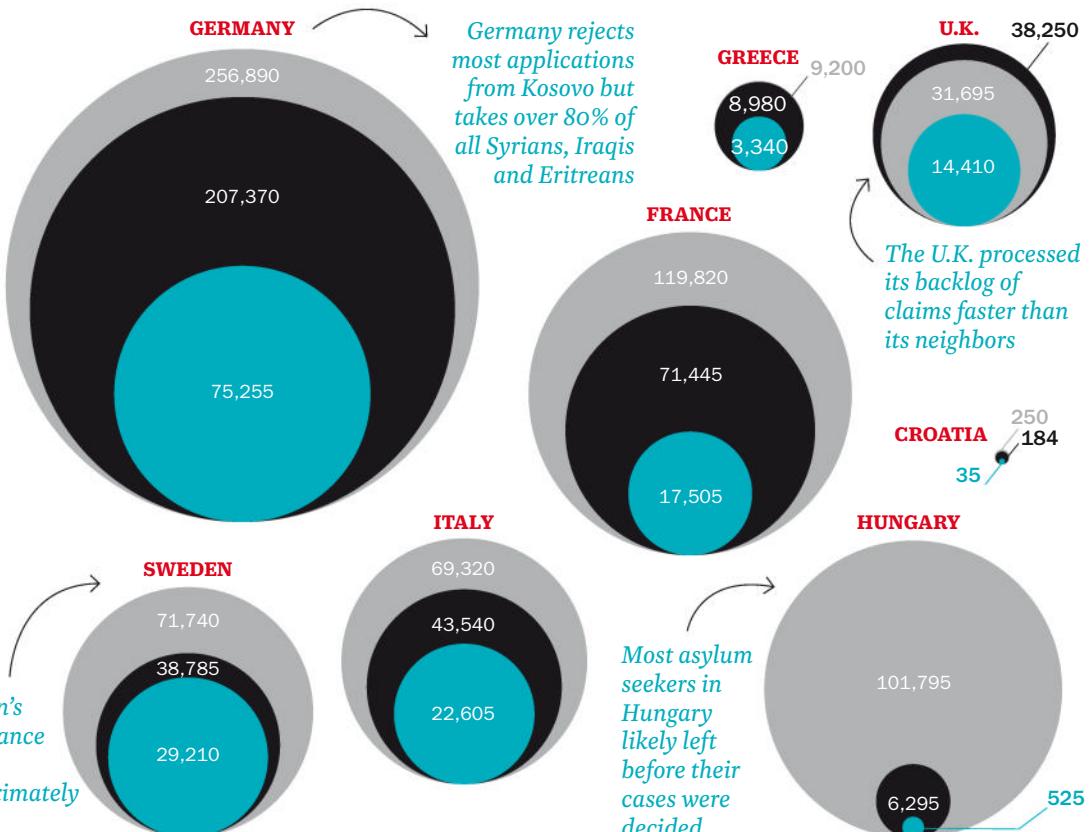
Most European countries saw far more applications for asylum than they could process from July 2014 to July 2015:

KEY TO CHART

Applications
Decisions
Acceptances

The difference here likely reflects the size of a country's backlog and the time it takes to process claims

GRAPHIC REPORTING BY NAINA BAJEKAL AND TARA JOHN; SOURCES: EUROSTAT; THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION; UNHCR



stadiums in Qatar, Eritreans cleaning restaurants in Israel and Senegalese selling knockoff designer handbags on the streets of Rome. They long entered Europe in a steady trickle, at least until the Arab Spring changed things. The mass uprisings of 2011 toppled governments, but when no new order took their place, the combination of miserable populations and vanishing border controls made Libya, for instance, a point of embarkation so frenetic it called to mind Dunkirk.

"My plan was to be a learned man, to have a better future," says Adeyinka, a Nigerian who spent 19 hours bobbing in a boat with 100 other migrants before being rescued by Italian authorities. Adeyinka's brother was among the 3,000 migrants killed trying to make the same crossing, a death toll that prompted Europe to crack down on smugglers, and Syrians to search for an alternate route.

They found it close at hand, in Turkey, where some 1.9 million Syrians had already taken refuge. The islands of Greece lie as close as three miles (5 km) off Turkey's western shores, and Syrians began making the crossing earlier this year, then moved north toward the wealthier E.U. nations in the north central Schengen zone where borders are open. They crossed Macedonia and Serbia, then into Hungary, then into Germany, where on Aug. 25, the Federal Office of Mi-

gration and Refugees posted a tweet heard round the world: Syrians who could make it to Germany could apply for asylum there. The news arrived just when refugee life grew dramatically harder back in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan. Aid agencies abruptly cut assistance in August, citing "donor fatigue," leaving 4 million Syrians to feed themselves on \$14 a month. At the same time, inside Syria, press gangs sharpened their search for young men to serve in Assad's army.

The result was a refugee flow that soon resembled a map from World War II: wide arrows swooping from the Middle East into the "soft underbelly" of Europe. And once again, the objective was Berlin.

The search for home

Germany's role in the crisis is a redemption story. It is, after all, Europe's dark 20th century history that deepens the anguish in the images emerging from the current migration—desperate civilians facing armed guards across barbed wire, families being separated in the scramble to board trains to a destination they do not know. But this time the journey is one of hope. "I know how the refugee feels," says Hamidullah Arman, an Afghan who received asylum in Berlin. "But Germany is a lovely country. It's doing a lot."

One thing Germany is doing, however, is sorting

refugees from mere migrants, a process that the U.N.'s Guterres calls inherently unfair. The reality is that refugees are now generated by more than just war. "There are a number of megatrends overlapping each other and affecting each other," he says, naming climate change, water scarcity and overpopulation as examples. "And the truth is, these factors are creating more and more situations where life is unsustainable for people in some communities, forcing them to move. They are forced to flee, but they are not covered by the legal status of the '51 convention. There is a protection gap."

In human terms, that means perhaps half the people climbing off trains in Leipzig will in a few weeks be quietly placed on flights back to Tirana or Karachi, their applications for asylum quickly closed. And even those likeliest to be offered new lives in Europe face excruciating delays. "There are people like me who come here and are totally lost," says Muhammad Haj Ali, 26, a Syrian waiting since Nov. 2014 for asylum approval in Germany. "After a while, you stop missing anyone or anything. You're breathing, the days continue, but that's it. I don't have hope anymore. The truth is, when you have hope, you hurt."

Yet people seem unable to help themselves. In a worldwide poll, Gallup determined that 13% of Earth's residents would like to move to another country—perhaps 700 million people. The No. 1 destination would be the U.S., which might swell by 150 million if its borders came down.

Compare that with the number of additional refugees—15,000 next year, to bring a sum total of 85,000 for 2016—the Obama Administration has vowed to accept next year, and the limits of compassion, coupled with wariness of Muslims, comes into remorseless focus, even in an immigrant nation. "The U.S. has been really bad," says Yaghmaian, who himself emigrated from Iran, after years in Turkey, and gathered a lesson in his travels. He remembers visiting Istanbul apartments shared by 40 migrants, all waiting to push westward. But that memory is balanced by the knowledge that his own brother, who has a green card for America, "the greatest country in the world," chooses to live in Iran, having left once already.

"Home is valuable," Yaghmaian says. "Home is precious. The smell of home matters a lot." Leaving it is hard, even for those who know where their journey will end. —WITH REPORTING BY NAINA BAJEKAL/BERLIN, SIMON SHUSTER/LEROS, VIVIENNE WALT/MESSINA AND PATRICK WITTY/LESBOS

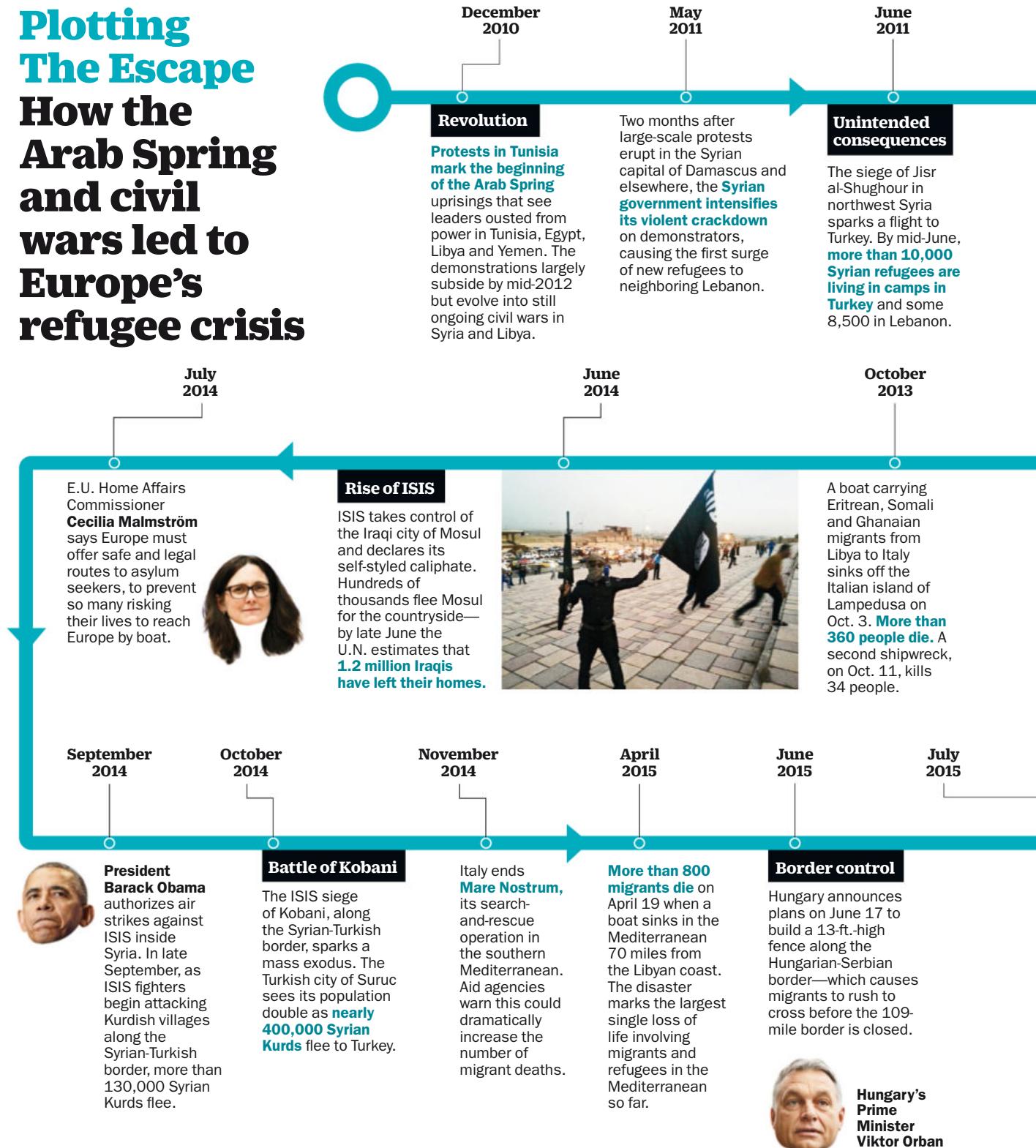


The Ferry Dusika Hallenstadion, an indoor arena in Vienna, is one of many buildings being used as a temporary shelter for migrants



Plotting The Escape

How the Arab Spring and civil wars led to Europe's refugee crisis





Smuggle

Nearly 400,000 migrants have crossed from T
Inside the booming business of migrant smug



Detritus left by tens of thousands of asylum seekers who have come ashore this summer on the Greek island of Lesbos, with more coming daily

PHOTOGRAPHS BY YURI KOZYREV FOR TIME

ers' Cove

Turkey to Greece—and they didn't do it alone.
By Simon Shuster/Bodrum, Turkey



t

HE BUSBOYS WERE NEARLY DONE CLEARING the tables at Captain Kadir's Place, a seaside tavern on the western coast of Turkey, when the sound of clinking dishes was interrupted by cries of distress from the sea. It was too dark on that early-August night to spot the source of the screaming. But owner Kadri Guner knew what had happened: another boat full of migrants departing for Greece had capsized near the shore. He could see the smugglers who had launched the boat still standing on the beach nearby, listening to their clients thrash about in the water. "For them it doesn't really matter what happens to the boats," Guner says of the smugglers a few weeks later, recalling the scene from the strip of beach that serves as his restaurant's dining room. "They get their money anyway. And the police here get a piece of it."

Over the course of this summer and early autumn, Guner has watched the 2-mile (3.2 km) stretch of the shore around Fener Beach, on Turkey's Bodrum peninsula, turn into one of the busiest staging areas for migrant smuggling in the world. The reason is geography: the nearest bit of European soil is less than five miles away, on the Greek island of Kos, and even a crude motorboat can reach it in less than an hour—unless something goes wrong.

So far this year, about 390,000 migrants have made the crossing by boat to Greece—more than 153,000 of them in September alone, compared with 43,500 such arrivals in Greece in all of 2014. Hundreds of migrants have died in the waters between Greece and Turkey so far this year, while 3,000 in total have drowned in the greater Mediterranean, often after their boats deflate or flip over in the water along the way.

In early September, Fener Beach gained notoriety after the body of a 3-year-old Syrian refugee named Alan Kurdi was discovered there, lying facedown in the sand. The boat that had been carrying his family and a dozen other migrants had capsized on its way to Greece, and the images of his tiny corpse, on front pages around the world, drove home the tragedy of Europe's migrant crisis and the indifference of the smugglers who fuel it. "For a few days the boats stopped going from here after that," says Guner. "Then it started again just the same as before." Between two tamarisk trees above the beach where the boy's body was found, some locals have hung a sign that reads in Turkish, SHAME ON HUMANITY.

It didn't seem to shame the smugglers. The only lasting effect of that tragedy on their business model appears to have been an increase in the prices they charge. An adult migrant now pays an average of \$1,200—up from \$1,000 in August—to cross, with children traveling at half that price or less. In August and September, about 100 boats crossed to Greece from Turkey every day, each one packed with upwards of 40 people.



That would amount to roughly \$5 million a day in revenue for the smugglers, enough to entice criminals into the business from the less lucrative—and much riskier—trade in drugs, sex workers and contraband, says Myria Vassiliadou, the chief coordinator for anti-trafficking efforts in the European Union. "Organized criminals don't have a job description," she says. And in the business of smuggling migrants, she says, there are "astronomical amounts of profit." By her estimate, this international industry could be worth billions of dollars per year, especially when one factors in related forms of commerce like the legal trade in boats and life jackets. And the smugglers help create demand by advertising their services in poor communities in Turkey, the Middle East and many parts of Africa.

The Turkish government, which says it has spent close to \$6 billion over the past five years on the task of accommodating Syrian refugees, has little incentive to stop the smugglers who send them on toward Europe. Yet Ankara has repeatedly denied abetting this industry. In a statement on Sept. 9, the Turkish ambassador to Greece, Kerim Uras, said Turkey had rescued some 40,000 migrants from the sea this year and arrested 86 of their smugglers. "We certainly do not 'look the other way,' nor do we 'actively promote the exodus,'" Uras wrote in a Greek newspaper.

But in offering solutions to the migrant crisis, Turkey has focused on plans to build E.U.-financed "safe zones" in northern Syria to which the refugees might "voluntarily return." After the death of Alan Kurdi in Turkish waters, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan put the blame on European countries for turning the Mediterranean Sea into a "migrant cemetery." He made no specific pledges to fight the smuggling networks that profit from such tragedies.

In recent months, the windfall from this industry has clearly been substantial enough for smugglers to invest in some impressive infrastructure along the Turkish coast. Hastily built hotels, restaurants and camping sites have cropped up on the beaches that traffickers control, all of them used to accommodate migrants as they are shipped off to Greece, according to local authorities and business owners who watch this nightly traffic.

Europol, the E.U.'s main police agency, estimated in September that around 30,000 people are involved in the smuggling of migrants to Europe. But the few who get caught are usually those who transport them by bus to the coast or cram them onto overcrowded boats. Their bosses, usually sitting in Turkey's biggest cities, never get anywhere near the beaches they control, which makes it nearly impossible to prove their involvement, according to Orcun Ulusoy, a Turkish legal expert who served from 2010 to 2013 as the U.N. refugee agency's lawyer in the Turkish coastal city of Izmir. "It is like fighting with ghosts," he says.

In early June, just as the migration wave began to peak, a group of men from out of town opened

\$1,200

*Typical price paid
to a smuggler to
arrange passage by
sea from Turkey to
Greece, a distance
of less than
five miles*



a restaurant near Fener Beach on a desolate cliff overlooking the water. It seemed like a strange idea for a business at the time. Since the area has become synonymous in Turkey with human trafficking, tourism has dropped by more than half, and the local hotels and restaurants have been complaining all year of a sharp decline in clients.

But the location offered advantages for other kinds of business. On either side of the restaurant, named Vena Beach, there is a footpath leading down to one of the most popular launching points for migrant boats in Turkey, a rocky and isolated section of the coast that sits only three miles from the nearest Greek island. When the restaurant was finished, the owners put up a metal gate to guard it from the nearby road. They never seemed to have many patrons, but the neighbors soon noticed another form of commerce springing up: rubber boats leaving from the beach below, some nights as many as five at a time. "Sometimes you can see the migrants come during the day and wait in the restaurant," says Guner, who lives a short walk away. "Then around half past midnight they go down to the beach with the boats." (Two other locals confirmed such sightings in separate interviews, but Guner, a retired officer of the Turkish intelligence service, was the only one who agreed to give his name.)

On one evening in mid-September, the shore beneath the restaurant was littered with smuggling paraphernalia—life vests, deflated boats, the pumps used to inflate them—and later that night at least one

▲
*The Turkish beach
where the drowned
body of 3-year-old
migrant Alan
Kurdi washed up
on Sept. 2*

boat could be seen leaving from the beach in the direction of Greece.

The following afternoon around lunchtime, the restaurant was empty except for a few tired employees. One explained that the kitchen wasn't working but served me tea while the proprietor arrived. He turned out to be a 28-year-old named Firat Unvar from the Turkish province of Mardin, which lies on the border with Syria and houses a large camp for refugees. Unvar says he moved to this part of the Turkish coast near Greece early this year, just as the migration wave was gathering force, and invested about \$175,000 in the construction of the restaurant. "But no one expected it would be so bad," he says, referring to the flood of migrants.

On most nights, as the restaurant is closing up, Unvar also hears and sees the boats leaving from the beach just below, but he says he has nothing to do with the smugglers who help them. "We don't know who the smugglers are," he says. "They might look like smugglers but actually just be migrants."

A MIGRANT'S JOURNEY—odyssey is perhaps a better word—typically begins at a camp like the one in far-off Mardin, where Turkish smugglers employ Syrians to offer passage to Europe to fellow refugees. Most of the money changes hands at so-called insurance offices in Istanbul—usually no more than currency-exchange booths—where migrants deposit their payments and receive a personalized password. Once

safely in Greece, a traveler is supposed to send the password back to the smuggler so he can use it to pick up the cash.

But these operations don't always go as planned. Mohammed Yusef, a 26-year-old sound engineer who made music videos in Damascus before fleeing in August, says he deposited \$2,000 at an insurance office in Istanbul—the payment for himself and his uncle to get to Greece—only to have the smuggler disappear and the fly-by-night office close down, making off with his money. On their second attempt, Yusef and his uncle were taken by bus from Istanbul to the coast, where they were told to sleep in tents for nine days until their boat was ready.

Many more migrants kept arriving at the campsite each day, and on the night of departure, the smugglers tried to stuff all 50 of them onto a dinghy meant for 15 people. "When we demanded another boat, one of them pulled out a gun and told us to get on," says Yusef. Another of the smugglers then boarded the boat with the migrants and steered it toward Greece before jumping off and swimming back to shore. Unfamiliar with the boat's mechanics, the migrants wound up lost at sea for about 12 hours before reaching the Greek island of Leros. It wouldn't have helped, says Yusef, to punish their smugglers by refusing to send the password for their payment. "After some days, if we die, they can still pick up the money," he says.

BEFORE AUGUST, when he met a smuggler in an Istanbul suburb, Alisher Ali, a 21-year-old migrant from Pakistan with a chipped front tooth, had no intention of claiming asylum in Europe. He had been working on a farm outside Istanbul for about 16 months with dozens of other Pakistani migrants. "Fourteen hours every day we were pushing the soil for bread and water," says Ali. So he had reason to wish for a better life. But it was the Turkish smuggler who planted the dream of Europe in his head.

For \$1,000, the smuggler offered to take Ali to the Turkish coast and put him on a boat to Greece, where he said Ali would be entitled to welfare benefits and the right to study at a university. But only the first part of that promise was fulfilled. Having paid the money, which amounted to his life savings, Ali was taken in a bus from Istanbul to the Bodrum peninsula, where a group of men robbed him and left him stranded on an unfamiliar beach.

He was not alone. Outside the main bus terminal in the city of Bodrum, Ali found a group of several hundred other migrants, nearly all from Pakistan, living on a dusty slope where cacti provide the only shade. Most had been living and working in Turkey for more than a year before smugglers tricked them into paying for a journey to Europe that never materialized. Muhammed Malik, a 19-year-old from Lahore, said smugglers took him on a fishing boat from Bodrum and dropped him off on an island they claimed



^
Afghan men gather at a beach near the Akyarlar area of Turkey's Bodrum peninsula, where many migrant trips begin

to be Greek. "Then the coast guards came," he says, "and told me I was still in Turkey."

While desperation is pushing many migrants to begin the journey to Europe, smugglers are clearly pulling them as well. On that slope near the Bodrum bus terminal, the smugglers circulate among the migrants every day, asking whether anyone has come up with the money to pay for the journey. One of their hangouts is a grimy motorcycle-repair shop across the street called Turkuaz Motor, whose owner, Sezai Oguz, does a brisk trade in secondhand outboard motors.

Often, he says, the migrants try to cut costs by simply buying a motorboat and attempting the journey themselves. "They come and tell me in Tarzan language, with hands and noises, what they want," he says. They can rarely afford more than a used motor for \$1,000 with only four or five horsepower—barely enough to carry a boat full of migrants to Greece. "I'm all sold out of those right now," says Oguz.

One enterprising hardware and furniture store, the Koyuncuoglu Construction Market, even decided to add inflatable motorboats to its inventory early this summer, laying them out next to the wicker dining-room sets at the edge of its parking lot. "These



are very, very popular items,” says Yasar Ozdemir, the market’s deputy floor manager. Every other day this summer, he says, some Arabic-speaking customers come and buy a boat for around \$3,000, as well as a set of 10 to 15 life vests in various sizes, even ones for children. “Of course we all know what they’re doing with these boats,” he says.

Up and down the Turkish coast, life jackets for sale can be found hanging outside cigarette kiosks, clothing stores and at least one barbershop in Bodrum. Engin Olcay, the owner of the city’s largest fishing and boating emporium, the Marina Plaza, wishes the migrants would come to him instead. “We offer quality here,” he says, holding up a life vest that retails for \$120. Olcay says that after the body of Alan Kurdi washed ashore in early September without a life vest, the Turkish government should have started giving life jackets to the migrants for free. “It’s important to provide these vests,” he says, “just as you provide the migrants with water or food, because it saves their lives.”

SITTING IN HIS OFFICE with a view of the Bodrum marina, a senior maritime official who declined to speak on the record acknowledges that the Turkish

30,000

Number of people involved in the movement of migrants to Europe, according to Europol

coast guard often allows the migrant boats to pass. “We as the navy, the coast guard, as soldiers, when we see refugees stuffed in these boats, our first mission is to get close, check around for the wind and waves, approaching very carefully,” he says. “But they threaten us with their babies,” he continues. “They hold up the baby and say they will throw it if we take them back.” So in many cases, he says, the coast-guard ships will simply escort the migrant boats until they reach Greek waters, allowing them to carry on from there.

The official adds that local police along the western coast of Turkey often turn a blind eye as well, and it’s hard to blame them, he says, pointing out that Turkey now hosts nearly 2 million Syrian refugees, more than any other country in the world. “They don’t want to stay here,” says the official. “Why should we force them to stay?”

In some cases, though, Turkish police do not just ignore the smugglers; they seem to encourage them. One afternoon in early September, TIME photographer Yuri Kozyrev and I came upon a deserted beach near the coastal town of Assos, where two outboard motors awaited beside two gasoline canisters. On a cliff above the beach, a group of men in life jackets was waiting to depart. But after spotting us, two Turkish men came down from the cliff to explain that the area was off-limits. One then signaled to a pair of uniformed officers who had been observing the scene from the other end of the beach. The police officers, armed with assault rifles, inspected our documents and instructed us to stop filming and photographing the area. They made no move to stop the apparent smuggling operation that had been in progress.

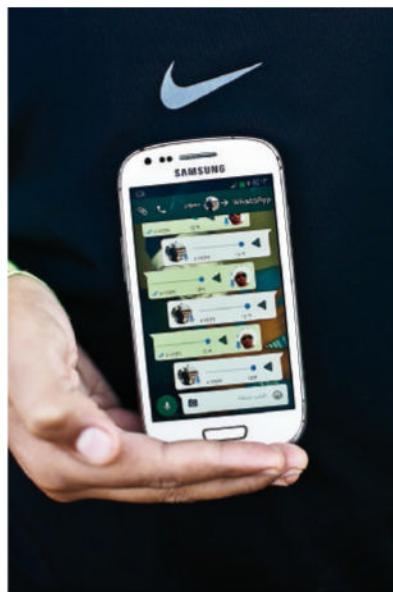
Ulusoy, the former lawyer for the U.N.’s refugee agency in Turkey, says such arrangements are typical. The smugglers often “know the local authorities and use them as a kind of protection,” he says. The profits then get passed around among the police, provincial officials and even the military, “because otherwise it would be impossible to smuggle a person to Europe.”

That assessment fits with the experience of Guner, the owner of Captain Kadir’s Place, who says he has tried multiple times to report smugglers to the local police. When a migrant boat capsizes near the coast, he and his waiters usually bring the fishing boat they use for netting barracuda and go out to pluck the people from the water. That’s what happened that night in August, when a group of Pakistanis nearly drowned on their way to Greece. After helping bring nine of them ashore in his fishing boat, Guner even gave police the license-plate numbers of the vans that smugglers use to bring their clients to Fener Beach. But it did no good. “There is too much money,” says Guner, looking out at the sun as it sank behind the island of Kos. “When there is so much money it won’t stop. It will never stop.” □

Searching for Signal

The smartphone is the refugee's best friend

By Patrick Witty/Lesbos, Greece



mUSTAFAH ARNAB'S HANDS WERE cold, pruned and shaking as he tore away the thin plastic film protecting his smartphone. He had spent nearly four hours aboard an overcrowded rubber boat crossing the Aegean Sea from Turkey to Greece. The 25-year-old Syrian doctor from Damascus, who was making his way to friends in Germany, was desperate to do two things: message his family and take a selfie. He turned to me as his phone powered on. "I will take a selfie with you," he exclaimed, relieved and eager to relay news of his safe arrival in Greece.

Refugees fleeing war-torn territory have come to rely on their phones to make a passage to a better life. They use messaging apps such as WhatsApp, Viber and Line to communicate with loved ones back home. They navigate border crossings via Google Maps and Facebook Messenger. Their travails are documented on Instagram. A smartphone is often the only item they carry.

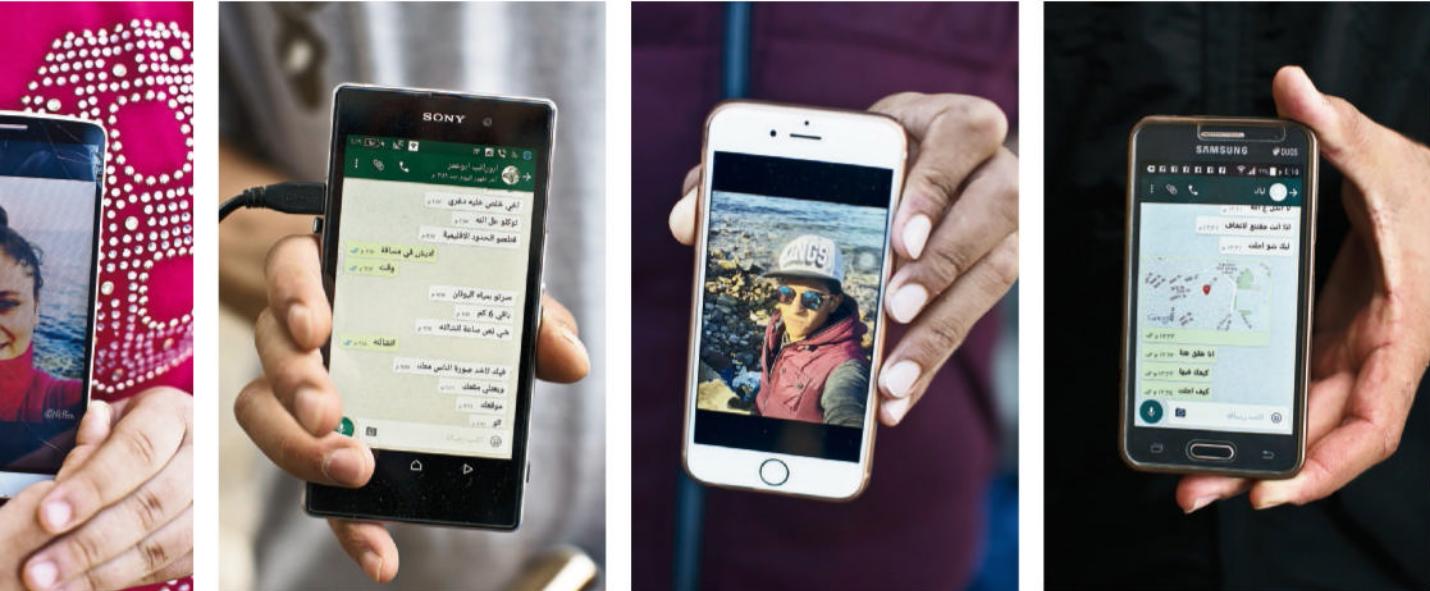
The European refugee crisis is the first of its kind in a fully digital age, and that has changed how the exodus is unfolding. With each border crossing, there is a race to find a new signal, a new local SIM card or a public wi-fi network. Wasem Farra, 34,

Refugees from Syria and Iraq show their smartphones, which provide an essential means of communication with loved ones at home and fellow travelers. They are also a vital way to document the travails of their journey

stares blankly into his phone while waiting in line for a bus just over the Serbian border in Roszke, Hungary. No luck. "I'm trying to catch Internet," says Farra, who is from Dara'a, Syria. "I want to call my mother and tell her we are here. They are afraid about us. We want to tell them we are O.K." Farra is trying to get to Germany with seven people, including his sister.

Rami Shahhoud's phone whistles with notifications as we talk on the same border. Shahhoud, 42, has been keeping in touch with his wife and family in Damascus throughout his journey using multiple SIM cards—a Turkish SIM card, then a Greek SIM card and now a Serbian one. "If it were five years ago, they'd maybe be thinking what's happening to me and I'd be wondering what's happening to them," he says. "But now, thank God for this technology."

Many refugees are using apps as pathfinders, devices to show them the best—or least dangerous—way west. "We heard the police will catch you if you go through the fields," Ali Sheikhou, 30, tells me in Roszke. His phone is tethered to a battery pack, glowing blue through his jacket. It's all he has with him from home. A friend traveling ahead of him



has been advising Sheikhou, via WhatsApp, about the conditions of the camps in Hungary, which he found abysmal. “We don’t want to go to the camps,” Sheikhou concludes.

Technology can also quickly become a lifeline. Thousands of refugees have lost their lives on sea journeys—and Kinan al-Khatid tells me he knew the risk. Instead of wrapping his phone in plastic or securing it inside a balloon as many others have done, he had typed out an SOS message and readied himself to send it to three programmed numbers along with his group’s exact GPS position the moment something went wrong: “Please help us—save us.” He says that ultimately he didn’t have to hit send.

This is a new phenomenon, says Peter Bouckaert, Human Rights Watch’s emergencies director. “Most of the Syrians fleeing are educated and urban, so they have the funds and the exposure to use smartphones effectively,” he wrote in an email.

And then there is digital scrapbooking. On the coast of Lesbos, Greece, the moment refugees land safely ashore, smartphones appear and the taking of selfies begins. “We want memories from the bad trip we had,” says Mehar Ahmed Aloussi,

Apps like WhatsApp, above right, make messaging to a wide variety of devices simpler. Many migrants also rely on Google Maps to share their current location as well as information about the safest routes

30, from Damascus. “When I go and settle down in another country, I want to remember my way.”

Cell phones create an endless need for electricity. Inside Keleti Station in Budapest, where refugees camp out while waiting to catch trains to Austria, there’s been an outpouring of expected donations: food, water and tents. One area is overflowing with shoes, another with clothing. But the most in-demand area by far is a small wooden table manned by a couple of Hungarian volunteers. Above them is a sign, handwritten in English and Arabic, that reads FREE WI-FI. A half-dozen batteries are duct-taped to the rickety wooden table, white wires flowing in every direction.

Power and wi-fi were in such demand at Keleti Station that Greenpeace Hungary set up an even larger tent to provide both. It is packed from the moment it opens in the morning to closing time at the end of the day. Greenpeace Hungary’s Reka Hunyadi says the need to communicate can seem as dire as the need for basic supplies.

Rabee Mohammed, a 25-year-old from Aleppo, Syria, who is traveling along the Hungarian border, doesn’t hesitate when I ask him which is more important, food or power: “Charging my phone.” □



**The Exodus. From the wine-dark
waters of the Aegean Sea to the back
roads of the Balkans, documenting
the dangerous passage**

Photographs and text by James Nachtwey



Refugees celebrate after arriving on the beach in Lesbos, Greece. Thousands of migrants each day set out from nearby Turkey for the Greek island, riding in barely seaworthy rubber boats. Some don't make it



tHEIR JOURNEY BEGAN IN WAR, poverty and oppression. They are fleeing, by the hundreds of thousands, from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, from Somalia, Iran, Pakistan and Eritrea, a ceaseless flow of humanity driven by fear, insecurity and lack of opportunity, their desperation matched only by their courage and by their hope. They make it to Turkey, within sight of the Greek island of Lesbos, and embark in a flotilla of frail rubber rafts to the refuge of Europe. Entire families—parents, the elderly, young children and infants—brave the perilous crossing outfitted with flimsy “life preservers” or inflated inner tubes. Once they set foot ashore, their past lives are no more than a memory, their futures uncertain. They only seem to follow those who have gone before.

They begin the next leg of the journey across Europe, by boat, by train, by bus and on foot, from border to border, with a vague notion of reaching Germany or Sweden or Norway. In the Croatian town of Tovarnik, on the border with Serbia, thousands huddle at a train station and thousands more along a roadside, waiting to board trains or buses for unknown destinations. Many have no idea which country they are in. The scene is barely controlled by riot police more familiar with soccer hooligans than distressed asylum seekers. Families are separated in anguish, but the police remain oblivious to their pleas, betraying the hope of the desperate who have made it so far, against all odds. Far from being finished, their journey to safety has only begun.

Muslim migrants pray upon reaching the beach in Lesbos







Clockwise from top left: A migrant wades ashore onto Lesbos; two women help a third scramble ashore; migrant men are overcome with emotion after arriving on Lesbos; a migrant woman rests after reaching the island









A man walks with his son behind him as they make their way to the train station in Tovarnik, Croatia, on the border with Serbia. In the Balkans, many migrants began traveling by foot, echoing more ancient journeys





*A family of migrants
waits at night at the
Tovarnik train station.
As borders opened and
closed, asylum seekers
struggled to find a safe
route through Europe*





In Tovarnik, a policeman shouts through the chaos as migrants scramble to board trains that will take them onward to destinations in northern Europe such as Germany and Sweden





Chaos ensues, and families are separated as migrants, barely held back by riot police, try to board trains at Tovarnik

Europe's Gamble

Migrants could be the key to a stronger economy

By Rana Foroohar

aMERICA WAS BORN A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS. Modern Europe, much less so. Its history—at least over the past few hundred years—is one of countries built on comparatively homogeneous national cultures. The creation of the European Union has been a marvel of benevolent globalization in the sense that it brought together 28 of those nations into an economic and political alliance. While the European debt crisis has challenged the future of that union, it hasn't yet doomed it. Now, with the great migration, Europe faces a bigger crisis still—and it's one with profound implications for its culture and its economy.

The challenges of Germany's decision to take in hundreds of thousands of immigrants are enormous. But the benefits could be too. Economic growth is essentially productivity combined with workers—when numbers for both are rising steadily, countries prosper. Europe, which has been struggling to achieve even a percentage point of economic growth per year, is not doing well on either front. The continent has some of the lowest birthrates in the world. In Germany, the economic engine of Europe, the population is predicted to shrink from 81.3 million today to 70.8 million by 2060. If unchecked, that trend would devastate the country's welfare state and future economic growth. Other nations, like France and Spain, are in similar quandaries. Given that women in rich countries tend to have fewer children, the only way to achieve better demographics is immigration.

AND YET THE IDEA that migrants could provide a long-term economic boon is hotly challenged by populist politicians across Europe trying to score with electorates that have become more nationalistic in the wake of financial crisis. Far-right-wing French politician Marine Le Pen, for instance, recently framed the challenge this way: "Germany probably thinks its population is moribund, and it is probably seeking to lower wages and continue to recruit slaves through mass immigration."

But Germany's troubled history is actually the key reason that it has one of the most liberal asylum policies in the world. "We have produced many migrants in the past," says the German ambassador to the U.S., Peter Wittig, "and our laws are a legacy of that." Indeed, the country's leaders took the

MIGRATION:

Grows the economy

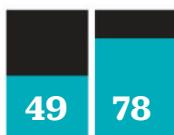


\$39 trillion

Estimated additional gain in global GDP over 25 years if all borders were completely open

Improves the dependency ratio

For every 100 working-age people in developed countries, there are 49 who are either too young or too old to work



Without immigration, the ratio would rise to 78 by 2050

SOURCES: EUROSTAT; IAN GOLDIN; KAUFFMAN FOUNDATION; U.N.; NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH

controversial step of suspending the Dublin Regulation, an E.U. law stipulating that asylum seekers must remain in the first European country they enter, allowing migrants to continue on from port-of-entry nations like Greece to Germany, where they are more likely to find work.

The Germans have been criticized for creating "moral hazard," potentially incentivizing still more to join the migration, as well as for asking other nations to share the burden of housing, educating and training those who do. The latter also reflects Germany's desire to make the migrant issue one shared E.U.-wide. "This is a huge litmus test for European solidarity," says Wittig.

The challenge is getting other E.U. nations to accept that migrants, particularly those from non-European cultures, could be something other than a social and economic burden. Despite the overwhelming data that global migration is a net economic positive, immigration tends to be an emotional, rather than rational, issue—one where culture clashes, sometimes violently, with economic reality.

The picture painted by those against migration shows a horde of relatively unskilled refugees raising social-welfare costs and lowering wages by undercutting higher-paid nationals within the labor force. The first may be true in the short term; Germany has already had to hire an additional 3,000 police officers to deal with arriving migrants. It's also setting aside \$6.7 billion to care for the influx, including shelter, free language classes, education and job training for all migrants who stay—something that Wittig says experience with groups like the Turkish guest workers of the 1960s (who were not given such benefits) shows is essential for successful integration.

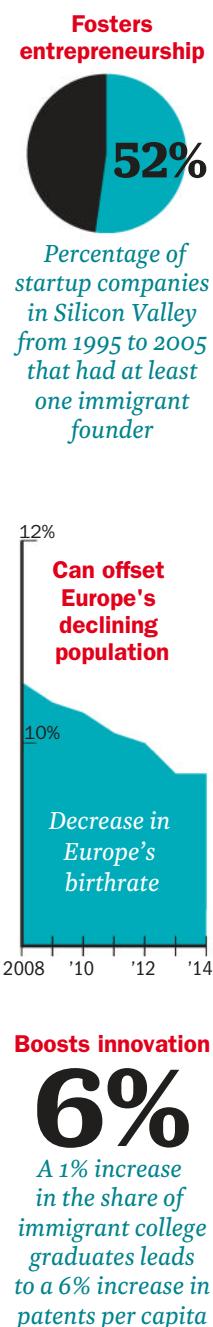
But there's little if any evidence to suggest that migration causes an economic race to the bottom. There is scant research on the economic effects of migration to continental Europe, in fact, in large part because migrants have until recently made up only a small portion of the population of major European nations. But studies in the U.S. and U.K. show that migrants don't undercut local labor because they tend to do jobs at the very bottom of the economic ladder. This allows natives to take on higher-level work. British immigrants tend to be better educated,

more productive and less dependent on public services than native-born citizens, for instance. And Denmark increased its share of non-E.U. migrants in the population from 1.5% in 1994 to nearly 5% in 2008 by taking in asylum seekers from Bosnia, Iraq and Somalia. Yet there has been no negative impact on wages, according to the findings of a 2013 paper by academics from the University of Copenhagen and the University of California at Davis. This is mainly because native Danes simply adjusted by moving up the economic food chain, just as the migrants themselves did by seeking a richer life in a new country.

The free movement of people, along with goods and capital, is the definition of globalization—which has, broadly speaking, increased prosperity at an international level. Yet it's telling that while trade is studied and regulated globally via the WTO, and financial flows are monitored by bodies like the IMF, there is no stand-alone global body that studies the economic effects of migrants on their home countries or their countries of origin. That's something that may well change, particularly if the E.U. can rise to the challenge of dealing with its migrant crisis at a regional level, rather than country by country.

Already most serious scholars believe that the bravery of immigrants has its own sort of economic value, according to Ian Goldin, the director of Oxford University's Martin School, which focuses on key 21st century challenges, and the author of *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*. "Migrants are a disproportionately dynamic part of the labor force globally," he argues. Innovative and entrepreneurial, they create a higher-than-average number of patents in many countries, start businesses more frequently than natives and founded 40% of the *Fortune* 500 firms. "In the 19th century, a third of the population of Sweden, Ireland and Italy emigrated to America and other countries," he notes. "The U.S. is the very best example of how dynamic a country of immigrants can be."

OF COURSE, many would argue that Europe's immigrants will be much harder to integrate, economically and culturally, even if the E.U. is able to avoid some of the mistakes of the past. These include leaving migrants to stew in detention camps for long periods



of time, exiling them to public-housing ghettos on the outskirts of major cities like Paris or making it hard for them or their children to become citizens (as was the case for Turkish guest workers in Germany). All of which breeds not only poverty but also the extremism that local populations fear. "Not only do many of these people not speak the local language, which is absolutely critical for employment, they often don't even share the same alphabet," says Mikkel Barslund, an economist at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels.

That's why many experts say E.U. consensus around how to handle migrants—where they should go, which countries will house and feed them, how their documentation should be adjudicated—is vital. That would ensure efficient integration and allow people like Syrian asylum seekers (many of whom are unlikely to ever go home again, given the depth and breadth of conflict in the region) to become productive members of society. It's an argument that makes sense from a global, as well as a regional, economic perspective. According to Goldin, if rich nations around the world were to admit enough migrants to expand their labor force by a mere 3%, the world would be \$356 billion richer—not only because of the productivity gains in the rich countries but because migrants send so much money back home.

In Europe it could also be a way to recommit to the world's most important experiment in benevolent globalization. To solve the migrant crisis, European nations will need to accept and integrate the outside world. But they'll also need to come to terms with one another, finding agreement not only on migration policy but also on who can be a part of the European community, and on what terms. That is exactly the same core issue at stake in other major issues of the moment, like the European debt crisis.

The great economic experiment that is the European Union has always been a cultural one too. Germany, at least, appears willing to take on this challenge. If the current crisis can be a catalyst for Germany to take the leadership role in pan-European affairs that many have been hoping it would, and to convince its peer nations that immigration is a solution to the continent's economic woes, the country—and the migrants themselves—will have played a vital role just by showing up. □

The Lost Boys of Europe

Teenage refugees are strangers in a strange land

By Vivienne Walt/Catania, Italy

aS THE AUGUST HEAT IN ERITREA GREW torpid, Mahari, 17, laid plans to flee his homeland. With relatives in the U.S. contributing funds for the journey, he kissed his family goodbye, slipped out of his house and walked four hours to the border of Ethiopia. He continued on to Sudan, trekking across the blistering Sahara for five days until he reached a known trafficking route, then climbed on a truck filled with other migrants. Parched and exhausted, he finally reached the smugglers' hub of Zuwara on the northwestern coast of Libya, where he crammed aboard a boat with about 240 other people and set off across the Mediterranean for Italy. The boat never made it—on Sept. 2, an Italian coast-guard vessel rescued the passengers, bringing them to Sicily.

Settling his lanky frame for the night on a discarded mattress amid a trash-strewn vacant lot in the Italian city of Catania, Mahari says he did not once consider staying at home, despite the dangers of crossing the Mediterranean, where 3,000 migrants have drowned this year. The alternative—life in Eritrea, one of the most repressive countries in the world—seemed far worse. "I had to leave," he whispers.

The last names of the migrants in this story are being withheld to protect their identities. Which is ironic in a way, because they are already the invisible migrants of this crisis—asylum seekers under the age of 18 who have made their way, alone, to Europe. For these youth, there have been no Facebook appeals to house them or welcome parties to greet them at train stations. Instead, police and aid workers meet every migrant arriving on the shores of Sicily or Greece, identify the lone children among them, hand them food packages and fresh clothes and escort them to residences for underage migrants. There, over-stretched organizations shelter them for months, as they try to determine what their futures might be.

For now, those futures seem precarious. The minors have largely arrived penniless, without a network of relatives to rely on or often even identity papers that could bolster their claims to asylum in Europe. Officials aren't even sure exactly how many minors have arrived in Europe, or even how old they are—some local authorities X-ray the wrists of new arrivals to try to determine an approximate age. But what numbers exist appear to have rocketed upward.



Osas, 13, is from eastern Nigeria. He says a man took him to Libya after his hometown was threatened by Boko Haram, and he was eventually smuggled to Italy. An orphan, it took him a year to reach Europe

The E.U.'s statistics office says the number of lone children among asylum seekers nearly doubled from 2013 to 2014, to 23,150, and this year looks as if it could go higher. About one-quarter of the 25,000 children crossing into Serbia this summer arrived alone, according to the aid organization Save the Children, and Swedish officials say 13,848 unaccompanied minors have arrived in their country this year, nearly double last year's figure.

Most of the youth arrive deeply shaken by their experiences. The teenagers describe terrifying journeys to Europe that often include weeks of unpaid labor and regular beatings by traffickers or by prison guards in jails in Libya, where they scrape together, through menial work, their "cross money," or smuggler fees for boat rides on the Mediterranean. "Many of them have nightmares, they isolate themselves, they have flashbacks," says Annalisa Pino, the sole psychologist at the state-funded Ahmed reception center in Messina, Sicily, which Italy's Ministry of Interior converted last year from a home for pregnant girls to one housing hundreds of unaccompanied migrant youth.

Now those who survived the crossing will ultimately have to prove they have the right to stay in Europe. International laws governing the protection of children oblige E.U. governments to feed and shelter those who arrive in their countries. "From the legal point of view, unaccompanied minors cannot be rejected at the border and cannot be expelled to the country they come from," says Christopher Hein, spokesman and policy adviser for the Italian Council for Refugees in Rome. "There is protection until the age of 18."

But for the majority of European nations, all bets are off once those teenagers reach legal age. Immigration courts then decide whether they are genuine refugees facing persecution or death back home, or whether they are economic migrants fleeing poverty for better lives in Europe. If it's the latter, they can be deported back to their home countries, unless they can show a steady source of income; many courts issue a humanitarian stay until they are 21 to give them time to prove their case.

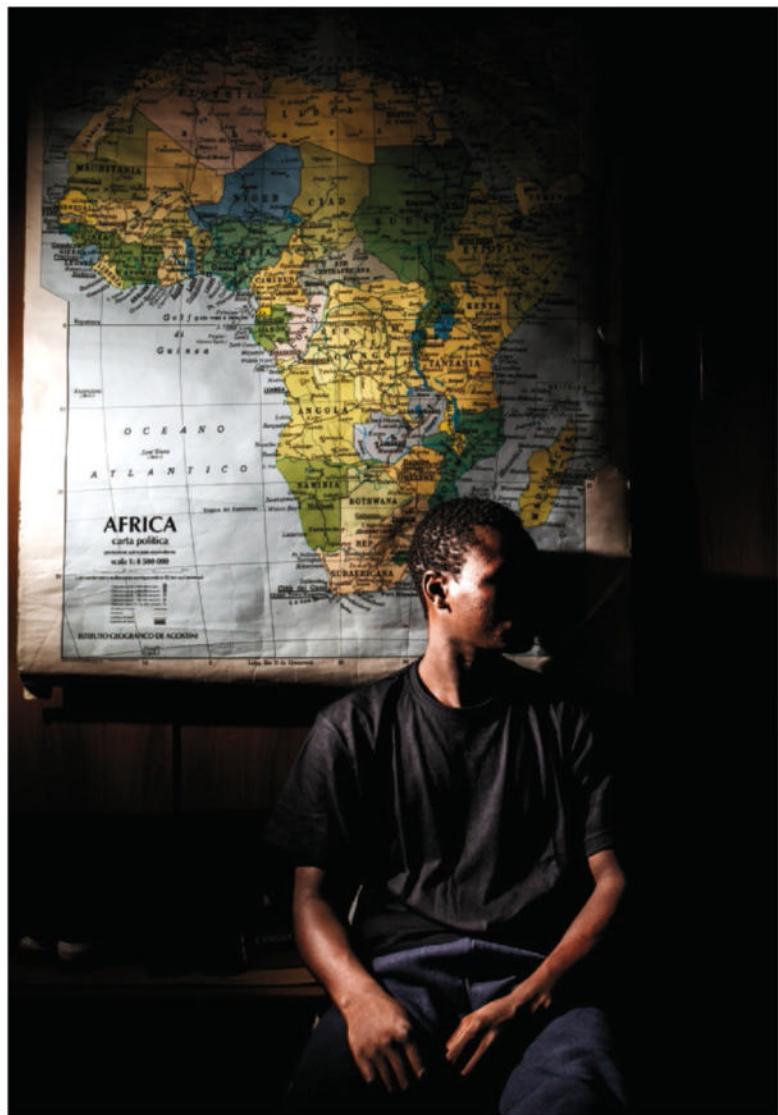
The legal tangle casts a pall over teenagers from the moment they set foot in Europe, even while they are figuring out how to survive with little money or skills, far away from their parents. For Syrians



arriving in Europe, escaping a war that has killed over 220,000 people, the case for asylum seems clear. But many of the thousands of young people arriving alone have fled obscure, forgotten conflicts, mostly in Africa, and even then, few may be able to prove that their own lives were under threat back home. "I would like to stay here in Italy," says Mandjo, 16, who says he fled his home in Guinea during a rebel attack on his neighborhood when he was just 14. Mandjo and his cousin hid in the forests, then over two years worked their way through Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Algeria, paying traffickers for each onward stage. There was only enough money for one Mediterranean crossing, so Mandjo left his cousin in Algeria and crossed to Sicily, arriving alone on Aug. 11. "I arrived with nothing, not even my documents," he says.

For teenagers like Mandjo, the urgent question is

▼
*Mandjo, 16, is
from Guinea. He
says he fled ethnic
violence at home.
He traveled with
a cousin through
North Africa
before making the
Mediterranean
crossing and
landing in Sicily
on Aug. 11*



how to acquire the schooling, skills and work they need in order to win settlement in Europe—all before they turn 18. That requires huge assistance from countries like Italy and Greece, which face their own financial stresses; more than 9,000 unaccompanied minors have arrived this year in Italy, a country with a youth unemployment rate of 44.2%.

While governments are legally obliged to help, they are clearly under strain. In the Regina Elena center for underage migrants in Catania, the director Vincenzo Di Mauro shows me a ledger claiming that local and national authorities are late with funds totaling nearly \$300,000, making it impossible to regularly disburse \$80 monthly stipends to the 75 teenage boys living there. "The budget is a real problem," Di Mauro says. Two days earlier, some of the youth smashed tables and chairs, tossing them off second-floor balconies into the courtyard below, in protest over the lack of money. The morning TIME visited, there were screaming arguments between teenagers and staff over late payments.

To aid organizations, governments' responsibilities toward the youth are clear. "Unaccompanied minors are children, with the same rights as children everywhere, to have their needs met," says Anthony Lake, executive director of the U.N. Children's Fund. "They don't know whether they are migrants or refugees. They only know they need our help. Desperately."

On the streets of Catania, a Sicilian city of 300,000, the sense of desperation is everywhere. One afternoon in September, Osas, a diminutive boy in a zip-up black jacket and too-big shorts, tells me in a near whisper, "I am 13." He says he fled his home in Nigeria's Edo state last year, after gunmen who he believes were from the terrorist group Boko Haram attacked a church in which he was sleeping. His parents, he says, had died some time previously in a motorbike accident. In a disjointed account of his yearlong journey to Europe, he says "a man" took him first to Libya's southern city of Sabha, where he baled grass for animals for several months, without pay, in exchange for food and shelter. Finally traffickers took him to Tripoli and gave him a boat passage to Sicily. When he landed on Aug. 22, he told Italian police he was 16—highly improbable, given his tiny body, smooth cheeks and high voice.

Yet it is a lie that many migrants feel is necessary. "I also told police I was 16," says a boy named Godstime, who says he is really 14 and who also fled Edo state in Nigeria, landing in Sicily the same day as Osas; now the two boys are inseparable. "If I tell them I am 14 they will keep me in the camp [center for underage migrants] for four, five years," Godstime says. The boys were taken in by the Regina Elena center, and they admit that living among older teenagers has left them on edge. Still, like every migrant I spoke to in Sicily, they ruled out returning



home, saying there is nothing to go home to. E.U. officials have come to believe the only way to stop more people—many from the world's poorest countries—from crossing the Mediterranean is to invest heavily in the migrants' dysfunctional home countries. E.U. leaders decided in September to plow \$1.1 billion more into the U.N. refugee agency and to try to persuade Turkey to constrict the flow of migrants rushing to neighboring Greece. But the crippling realities in Africa—droughts and floods linked to climate change, intermittent conflict and high population growth—might still push millions to try to make it to Europe for decades. On Sept. 9 European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker announced a new \$2 billion fund for Africa to create jobs and tackle “the root causes of illegal migrants.”

But such plans will be of little help to the Africans who have already made it to Europe. Mahari, the 17-year-old from Eritrea, says he faced the prospect of military conscription with no time limit, in a region rife with conflict. So desperate is he to begin earning money in Europe that when he landed in Sicily on Sept. 3, he slipped out of sight of Italian police and hid in the streets of Catania. The teenagers—virtually all boys—receive lessons in Italian if they live in the centers. But those sleeping

Salif, 16, is from Abidjan, Ivory Coast. He says he fled his country after his father was murdered in his home. He landed in Sicily on Aug. 22 and is staying at the Regina Elena migrant center in Catania

23,150

Number of lone children among asylum seekers in Europe in 2014, nearly double the previous year's total

rough, like Mahari, while away days in a desultory state of limbo, debating where might be best to go and lining up at charity soup kitchens. “There are no jobs in Italy,” Mahari says late one night in the vacant lot in Catania that serves as a hiding place for migrants. The first chance he gets, Mahari says, he will head north to Germany to find work.

With Europe’s governments overwhelmed by refugees, Mahari’s choice to bypass official channels could become increasingly common. Already, about 5,000 minors have vanished from Italy’s reception centers, likely headed for better prospects elsewhere. The Mediterranean countries where youth initially land have few job prospects for their own citizens, let alone for migrants, but prosperous northern Europe offers better odds.

If Mahari finally makes it to Germany, it could take months before he shows up on a refugee list and far longer before his prospects take shape. Even less certain are the futures of the Nigerian boys Osas and Godstime, who might need years of schooling before they can find work, let alone win the right to stay in Europe. “I want to go to school, do my work and help my family, because my family does not have money,” says Godstime. Thousands more teenagers are headed to Europe, on their own. □

The Things They Carried

What do you bring with you
to begin life anew?

AS TOLD TO MEGAN GIBSON
PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES MOLLISON FOR TIME



MUHAMMED, AFGHANISTAN >

"My family sent me this ring from Afghanistan.
It's a cross. I'm a Muslim, but I accept Christian prophets.
It's a symbol of my religion that I like to show.
It's also a memory from my family."



< MARIE, 32, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

"I'm diabetic. I have to give myself an injection every day. I lost all my possessions at sea on the journey. The smugglers asked us to throw our bags overboard so we wouldn't sink. I got these syringes from aid workers."



PARASTOO, 23; NOORADIN, 15 MONTHS; MOHSEN, 31, IRAN

"We're going to Italy. I bought this pendant a year ago in Iran. It has a part of the Quran written on paper inside. I wear it to bring us luck. It worked—we're here."



AISHA, 14, SYRIA

"I brought my charger because I need to use my phone to contact my friend in Sweden. We are going to live with him. My family was split up for hours on the journey, and my phone didn't work. It was horrible."



▲
ABDULLAH, 9, TURKMENISTAN

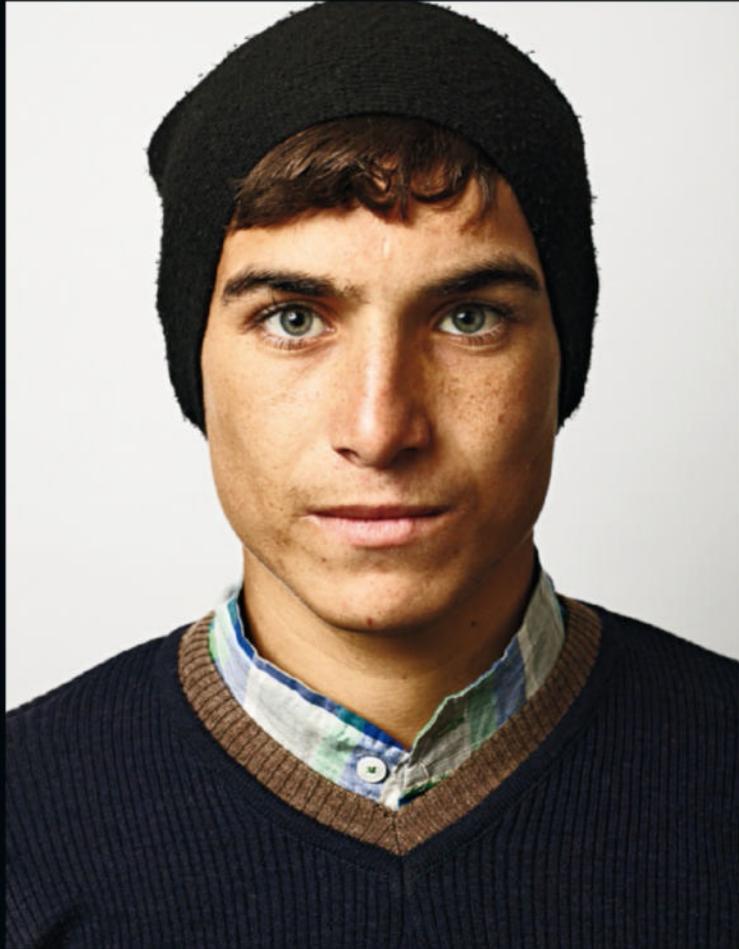
"I had to leave all my toys behind. I don't know when we left home. I don't see the days."





PARISA, 15, AFGHANISTAN

"We've been traveling for two months. We're going to Sweden—I don't know where. I got this bag six months ago. I keep our papers that the smugglers needed to get us past the borders."



AHMAD, 17, SYRIA

"My friend gave me this watch. He's like a brother. He's in Syria still. He's coming in a week. The watch helps me remember our history."

MUHAMMED, 22, IRAQ >

"I don't have anything. No bag. I'm like this. I want to go to France because I speak French."



Europe Divided. The migrant crisis tests the limits of E.U. cooperation

By Ian Bremmer

tURN THE PAGES OF TIME'S SPECIAL REPORT on migrants this week and you'll see pictures of anguished refugees, of riot police at the barricades, of ordinary Europeans doing their all to help. The human dimension of this story is undeniably compelling. But to understand how a historic migration will change Europe, you need to look past the daily drama toward its longer-term political and economic implications.

A weak agreement

The E.U. has been distracted by its economic troubles and the crisis in Ukraine, warns David Miliband, the former British Foreign Secretary who now heads the International Rescue Committee. "Europe has been late to the game on the refugee crisis," says Miliband. "It is now scrambling to catch up."

On Sept. 22, a majority of E.U. ministers voted to approve an agreement on the migrant crisis that raises more questions than it answers. The plan will resettle 120,000 refugees. It commits more money for humanitarian aid for those still in camps in North Africa and the Middle East to make conditions there more tolerable—and discourage onward movement toward Europe. To appease skeptical voters back home, the ministers also promised to tighten the E.U.'s porous external borders. Finally, the leaders pledged to do more to stabilize Syria, presumably through a combination of military and diplomatic pressure.

It's an agreement that has many shortcomings. Those 120,000 refugees amount to a small fraction of the total number that will arrive in Europe in the coming months. Improving life in Middle Eastern camps is a positive step for the refugees dwelling in the camps and those operating them, but it's not a permanent solution to anything. There is no credible and affordable plan that can secure borders around Greek islands or in Turkey. Russian air strikes in Syria have made a difficult security situation that much more complex and dangerous. And if NATO and Western diplomats could stabilize Syria, they would have done it already.

The larger European project depends on consensus among E.U. member states. This agreement exposes widening divisions over the migrant crisis, as several East European governments bitterly oppose the deal. Slovak Prime Minister Robert Fico has said he won't implement it. Enrico Letta, Italy's former

'We must not fall prey to nationalist sentiments in these moments. It is precisely now that we need more Europe, not less.'

ANGELA MERKEL, speaking to the European Parliament on Oct. 7



Prime Minister, though not optimistic, says E.U. leaders will ultimately find common ground. "There will be no success with only national answers to such global issues," he says.

The pull of nationalism

As time passes, those at the negotiating table will feel the political ground shift beneath their feet. This flood of Middle Eastern migrants, arriving at a time of internal threats from ISIS and its followers, boosts the popularity of opposition parties that want to shut the door to immigration. It also forces more mainstream parties to toughen their rhetoric. The trend is obvious in Hungary, where Prime Minister Viktor Orban has adopted a hard-line approach toward refugees in part to ensure that Fidesz, his right-wing party, can check the growth of Jobbik, a farther-right party. The Czech Republic and Romania joined Slovakia and Hungary in voting against last month's first-step agreement.

There's also a nationalist surge under way in Western Europe. In Italy, the Northern League is using the refugee crisis to undermine support for Matteo Renzi's government. In France, the far-right National Front continues to poll ahead of both the ruling Socialist Party and the center-right Republican Party. In Britain, the anti-E.U. United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) remains a political threat to David Cameron's ruling Conservatives. That limits the Prime Minister's ability to be more generous on the refugee crisis in advance of the U.K.'s referendum on continued membership in the E.U., which will probably take place next year.

Border policy

The obvious focal points of these fights are Europe's internal borders. Twenty-two of the E.U.'s 28 members are part of the Schengen Agreement, which allows for passport-free transit across borders among member states. Four non-E.U. states—Switzerland, Norway, Iceland and Lichtenstein—are also members. Within the E.U., only the U.K., Ireland, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia and Cyprus are outside Schengen. There are two reasons this agreement is crucial for the idea of a united Europe "whole and free." First, it speeds the flow of commerce across borders and reduces costs, boosting economic activity. Second, it's a powerful symbol of European

unity. Countries that once waged war on one another no longer even have border guards.

Under Schengen rules, a country may reimpose border controls for short periods under emergency conditions. Several E.U. governments have responded to the migrant crisis with temporary border restrictions. Will more countries tighten their borders? And will these temporary measures truly prove temporary? Adding to the concerns, unless border controls are in place, there is no way to keep migrants from leaving countries where they are resettled if they want to live somewhere else in Europe—like Germany or Sweden, the preferred destinations for most refugees. A revolt by multiple countries with defiant governments might well punch a hole in a central pillar of European unity. As Letta puts it, “Schengen is gone if the crisis continues.”

The role of Germany

As with every other important challenge facing Europe, from Greece to Ukraine, Germany is the crucial player. Perhaps stung by criticism of their tough treatment of Greece, Germans and their elected officials have rallied to the cause of helping Muslim migrants. Germany received about 200,000 asylum requests in 2014. Chancellor Angela Merkel has said Germany will welcome up to 800,000 refugees in 2015, and some estimates place the number as high as 1 million or more. The country’s generosity may well encourage those still in the Middle East to think that now is the time to bring their families north.

How long can this openness last? An attack earlier this year in which two asylum seekers killed a mother and son shopping at an Ikea store in Vasteras, Sweden, demonstrates just how quickly two deranged people can cast suspicion on tens of thousands of other foreigners. Paris’ *Charlie Hebdo* attack earlier this year remains fresh in the minds of Europeans, who are increasingly worried about the possibility of jihadis returning from the battlefield in Syria. A similar attack in Germany might shift opinion quickly against Merkel and her approach to this crisis.

Questions to come

There are broader questions we can’t yet answer. How will Germany, distracted by domestic controversies over migrants, approach talks with Greece the next time bailout questions must be negotiated? Can

If we opened
the door to
every refugee,
our country
would be
overwhelmed.

DAVID CAMERON,
addressing
Britain’s
Conservative Party
conference on
Oct. 7



Germany pull together a coalition of states to hold the Greek government to its commitments?

What impact will the migrant crisis have on E.U. sanctions on Russia? Some in Europe fear that Russia’s actions will make Syria more unstable, adding to the exodus. Others welcome Russian involvement there because they hope that even forced stability will stem the tide of refugees. So far, that debate is tilting in favor of those who want to ease or lift sanctions as long as the Ukraine conflict remains quiet.

What does the migrant crisis mean for Britain and its referendum on continued E.U. membership? “The real danger in the U.K. is that the debate about migration is, deliberately or otherwise, confused with the debate about refugees,” says Miliband. The U.K. is not a member of Schengen, but that hasn’t stopped desperate refugees from trying to enter Britain by any means necessary. Fear that Britain’s government can’t control the borders and will face E.U. demands to accept more migrants empowers the U.K.’s Euroskeptics. Some members of the ruling Conservative Party now fear the political power of UKIP from their right more than the demoralized and marginalized Labour Party on the left, and it may be more difficult for Prime Minister Cameron to rally support for the E.U. from many of his own legislators.

What about Europe’s relations with the U.S.? Crucial for the future of U.S.-European ties is the fate of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, an enormous potential trade deal now under negotiation. That deal can’t move forward at a time when European governments are distracted by crisis after crisis. This potential game changer for transatlantic relations looks increasingly at risk.

Finally, add the migrant challenge to the long list of issues distracting European leaders from the unfinished business of mending the euro zone’s original design flaws. Tighter coordination of fiscal policy and more effective regulation of Europe’s banking sector—two problems that hobbled the E.U. during the financial crisis—are becoming ever more distant goals. Europe whole and free depends on shared values and an underlying singleness of purpose. The migrant crisis puts European unity at risk like nothing we’ve seen since the Cold War’s end. □

▼ EDELBI FAMILY ALEPOO, SYRIA
Britta Leben, left, a 27-year-old German master's student, helps Zakaria Edelbi, 30, center, with his German-language work. Edelbi came to Berlin in August 2014, leaving behind his wife and three children in Aleppo. He was reunited with them in March 2015 after months of trying to secure visas. Leben first met Edelbi in May, thanks to Beginn Nebenan Berlin, an organization that connects locals with refugees. "I just wanted to get to know the people we're sharing this city with," she says. "And Zakaria's family is so open-minded and fun to be around." In late August, the Edelbis moved out of a shelter and into their own flat in Spandau, West Berlin. The children now attend school nearby and already speak some German. Edelbi says he fears for Syria's future—but for the first time, he is no longer afraid for his children.





The Welcome Germans open their homes to refugees

By Naina Bajekal/Berlin

OF COURSE THE GERMANS HAVE A word for it: *Willkommenskultur*. It translates to “welcome culture,” and though it was coined a few years ago by politicians who wanted to encourage skilled migrants to move to Germany, it’s come to represent German generosity in the face of the refugee wave. While other European governments tightened border controls, Germany—having recorded 200,000 migrant arrivals in all of 2014—opened its doors to more than 270,000 asylum seekers in September alone, according to the interior minister of the southern state of Bavaria. At train stations, well-wishers greeted refugees with applause. The refugees returned the cheers—after sinking boats and barbed-wire fences, they had finally found their refuge.

Germany’s response hasn’t been perfect. Waiting times for registering asylum seekers have been long, forcing some to sleep on the streets. And conservative parts of the country—especially in the east—have been less welcoming, with protests against migrants. But much of the country has followed the example of Chancellor Angela Merkel, who said on Sept. 15, “If we now have to start apologizing for showing a friendly face in response to emergency situations, then that’s not my country.”

Charities and volunteers have stepped up, proud to be part of a grassroots movement keeping the welcome machine running for the estimated 1 million asylum seekers the country will reportedly receive this year. Ordinary Germans have opened their homes to strangers fleeing violence far beyond Europe’s borders. “It may seem like this crisis is ripping the continent apart,” says Tim Florian Horn, a Berliner who took in an Afghan family this summer. “But giving shelter to people who need help—that’s the true meaning of a united Europe.” A refugee crisis that has brought out ugliness in other parts of Europe is so far revealing the best of Germany.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOAKIM ESKILDSEN
FOR TIME



▲SHARIFI FAMILY MAZAR-I-SHARIF, AFGHANISTAN

Marya Sharifi's husband was killed by the Taliban three years ago. When her son Rohen, 16, began to receive threats, Marya decided to sell their house and flee. "We were sick with fear," says Marya. "I just wanted my children to go to school in peace." When they arrived in Berlin on Aug. 28, the registration center was shut for the weekend. That night, Kathi Tennstedt-Horn, a teacher, and her husband Tim Florian Horn, director of the Berlin planetarium, heard on the news that refugees were camping on the street. Though the couple has a newborn and two small children, Kathi drove to the center and returned with all seven members of the Sharifi family. They stayed until they found a shelter five days later. "They had been through so much but were still so united as a family," says Tim.



> **ABDULLAH FARHAN** DEIR EZ-ZOR, SYRIA
MAHMOUD ABU HORAN DARA'A, SYRIA

Marlene Allaoui, center, found Farhan, 26, right, and Abu Horan, 27, sleeping outside in Berlin, unable to find hostels that would accept state-issued vouchers. Farhan, a former schoolteacher, had fled ISIS; Abu Horan needed to escape conscription into the Assad army. "Can it be that people arrive here just to face another kind of hell?" says Allaoui, who has welcomed nine other refugees into her apartment in north Berlin since early August. "I had to do something."



▲ **ABDELKADER JBILI** ALEPO, SYRIA

The 16-year-old arrived in Berlin in mid-August after three months of traveling. "I didn't want my family to face that dangerous journey," he says of his decision to leave without his parents and younger siblings. Instead he traveled with his uncle. Jbili is now staying in the former city hall of the district of Wilmersdorf in Berlin, which has been converted into a refugee shelter. "I just called my father, and I found out that today his shop was bombed. They are not safe in Aleppo," he says. "But three days ago, I got my papers to stay. Because I am a minor, I can now apply to bring my family here. I hope we can all stay in Germany, because the people here are good."







◀MAAZ FAMILY ALEPOO, SYRIA

Hasan Maaz, 32, with his wife Nahed Sikkarit, 24, and their two children Muhammad, 7, and Mayyar Alhelwa, 4, in the Wilmersdorf refugee shelter in Berlin, where they have been living for over a month. The couple decided to leave and join friends in Germany the day after a rocket exploded just 50 yards from their home in Aleppo. “When we saw bits of bodies in the street, we couldn’t believe that this might happen to our children,” says Maaz. “Our journey was something like death,” says Sikkarit. “We were hugging the children, wondering how we would get here.” The family was fingerprinted in Hungary but hopes to be able to stay in Germany now that Berlin is no longer sending refugees back to their country of first registration. Maaz, who owned a small shop in Aleppo selling cell phones, and Sikkarit, a former hairdresser, would eventually like to work in Germany, but they are still awaiting their papers. In the meantime, they are just grateful to have found sanctuary. “We thank Allah that we are finished with the rockets and bombs and are safe,” says Maaz. Their daughter Mayyar Alhelwa has something to smile about too: after losing her first doll on the boat to Greece, she now has a new one.

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Time Off

'IT HAS THE MOST GRUESOME SCENE IN IT THAT I'VE EVER WRITTEN, INVOLVING HORSES. I SHOULD BE ASHAMED.' —PAGE 104



MOVIES

For two legends, history is personal

By Daniel D'Addario

ONE OF THE MOST CONSEQUENTIAL PARTNERSHIPS IN Hollywood began with casual neighborly chats between two dads. Steven Spielberg didn't direct Tom Hanks in a film until 1998's *Saving Private Ryan*, but the pair had spent years discussing their shared affinity for American stories. As Hanks puts it, "When we got to know each other as guys who live in the same part of town and had

kids all about the same age, operating in the same nonprofessional circles, we developed a language that was all about how we read history for pleasure."

In conversation hours before the New York City premiere of their new film, *Bridge of Spies*, the pair displays an easy camaraderie and a shared comfort with the broad themes of U.S. history—individualism, righteousness, exceptionalism. *Spies*, which opens Oct. 16 amid the Oscar chatter typical of a Spielberg film, stars Hanks as James Donovan, a real-life insurance lawyer tasked to defend Soviet spy Rudolf Abel (Mark Rylance). His defense is meant only to keep up an appearance of justice. But Donovan not only winds up delivering fair-minded advocacy in the face of violent threats but also becomes enmeshed in prisoner-exchange negotiations after an American U-2 pilot is downed over the USSR and, in Berlin, an American student is taken prisoner.

It's a complicated situation Spielberg and Hanks approach in a manner both unfashionably devoid of irony and refreshingly suffused with moral clarity. Citing the heroes of his films *Saving Private Ryan*, *Amistad* and *Schindler's List*, Spielberg says he prefers a protagonist who sees things in black and white. "I love characters who stand on their principles," he says. "I have to go into almost ancient history. It just feels to me like those times were simpler and there was no media clutter to put too many areas of gray into a righteous decision."

Though his quest is far narrower in scope, James Donovan's pursuit of a fair trial in his cases—the one he's been appointed to defend in court and the one he appoints himself to on the world stage—will bring to mind Oskar Schindler to some moviegoers. *Schindler's List* came out more than 20 years ago, and Donovan's plainspoken rectitude has precious few analogues in contemporary movies.

IN A HOLLYWOOD that's addicted to comic-book narratives, Spielberg and Hanks find superheroes elsewhere. Spielberg's last two live-action films, the World War I drama *War Horse* and the majestic *Lincoln*, are both set firmly in the past (and both earned Best Picture nominations at the Oscars). Hanks has



A BRIDGE TOO FAR

Hanks plays lawyer James Donovan, who, with his wife (Amy Ryan), endures public blowback when he mounts a vigorous defense of an accused Soviet spy, a tactic his friend and fellow lawyer (Alan Alda) advises against

lately been returning to movies about ordinary men at extraordinary moments, from the pirate-abducted ship captain Richard Phillips to the "Miracle on the Hudson" airline captain, Chesley "Sully" Sullenberger (a part in an upcoming Clint Eastwood film, for which Hanks' hair is dyed peroxide white).

While the two men usually work apart, they thrive together. Their shared portfolio encompasses *Saving Private Ryan*, an early draft of which both men read before approaching each other ("He cast me and I cast him," Spielberg says), 2002's period counterfeiting caper *Catch Me If You Can* and 2004's wistful geopolitical-turmoil comedy *The Terminal*. It's also brought the pair together as producers on large-scale TV projects such as HBO's *Band of Brothers* and *The Pacific*, meant to inform Americans of history that's not part of the nation's collective memory. "It's no surprise that



“the first thing we did was based on the history we never cease reading about,” says Hanks, “and it just goes on and on. Can’t quite get enough of it.”

The actor and director, who have 20 Oscar nominations and five wins between them, have developed a strong working shorthand over the years. “Tom gives me a tremendous amount of confidence,” says Spielberg. (Who knew he needed the boost?) Both men prefer spending time with their families to being on the set. “We hit the ground running. We know what we like, and we often come up, independent of each other, with the same ideas,” the director says, recalling that he’ll often ask Hanks to cut lines the actor has already decided his character wouldn’t say. “The second the bell rings and I get out of class, I go right home.”

“I equate it to back when Flint, Mich., was a General Motors town

and everybody worked for General Motors,” says Hanks. “It’s a company town, and we still get together for Fourth of July barbecues.”

THE STAKES in *Bridge of Spies* are self-consciously small; the lawyer Hanks plays is no one’s idea of a high-achieving litigator, and the exchange centers on three prisoners, not the future of the Republic. But the actor’s voice rises as he describes his character: “If you can fight them to a draw, now, you can beat them on another day, and that is always about the promise of the future and the protection of the entire concept of peace and liberty. It’s highfalutin sh-t!”

But that’s only where the film ends up. *Bridge of Spies* insists on the primacy of one man’s decisions; it doesn’t freight the drama of individual events with perpetual reminders that Donovan might be making history. Donovan, who went on after the events of *Bridge of Spies* to negotiate the release of prisoners from the Bay of Pigs invasion and to run for Senate, feels less like Lincoln than like one of the vexed heroes of screenwriters Joel and Ethan Coen—an everyman, in short. He’s at times a comic figure, getting his overcoat stolen on a sojourn in Berlin and spending much of the movie’s second half with a bad head cold.

It helps to be free of the burden of humanizing an iconic figure, whether an American soldier at Omaha Beach or the President on the \$5 bill. In that sense, *Bridge of Spies* shares the accessible quality of Spielberg’s early films, in which latchkey kids and working-class men in nondescript American towns got to commune with other worlds. Hanks says he wanted to work with Spielberg after seeing *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* as a college student and realizing he could relate to its hero. “Richard Dreyfuss was a guy who worked for the power company.

‘We hit the ground running. We know what we like, and we often come up, independent of each other, with the same ideas.’

STEVEN SPIELBERG, on working with Tom Hanks

We had never really seen a movie where a guy who worked for the power company met the aliens.”

Hanks’ character isn’t quite working for the power company, but he also wasn’t born to wield power. He’s someone most viewers won’t have heard of, and for those who have, his achievements are a mere footnote in the convoluted history of the Cold War. This freed Hanks and Spielberg to create something new, a work that commemorates Donovan’s moral sure-footedness while also giving a real sense of just how unhinged the period had become.

Spielberg shrugs off the issue of the story’s relative novelty. “Most movies are about things that no one had ever heard of before. It can either be *Bridge of Spies* or it can be *Avatar*,” he says. “Filmmakers try something new, whether they’re going back into history to find a truth that the filmmakers feel has relevance to the issues of today or whether it’s a pure flight of fantasy.”

By now, Spielberg’s shadow is so long that even films based on his aesthetic prosper; *Jurassic World*, director Colin Trevorrow’s sequel to Spielberg’s dinosaur thriller, opened in June and is now the third-highest-grossing film of all time. Says Spielberg: “It exceeded not only my expectations but the people whose job it is to prognosticate. It exceeded the studio’s expectations and Colin Trevorrow’s expectations. Who could have expected this megasuccess on his first non-Sundance film?”

“Now that guy’s got problems as far as his next job goes,” Hanks chimes in. “He’s gotta accept the fact that he ain’t gonna top it. All he has to do is turn in a good movie, and he’ll win. Talk about a sophomore jinx, man, his next gig.”

A HOLLYWOOD in which a young filmmaker gets handed the keys to an established franchise and makes a presold hit is a very different Hollywood from the one in which Hanks and Spielberg came up. Though the pair banter about just how long *Jurassic World* will keep its box-office “bronze medal”—Spielberg is convinced that *The Force Awakens*, the latest addition to his longtime friend George Lucas’ *Star Wars* saga, will outgross *Jurassic World*—the director denies any interest in the world of

franchises, or in anything extraterrestrial. "I can't live on an alien planet my entire career. I've got to find things that are earthbound that make me glad to be on this planet and experiences, when I'm making films, that have relevance and have kinship to actual events in history. That fills me up. That makes me actually happier in this stage of my life than even a success like *Jurassic World*."

For his part, Hanks got his start in TV before taking on the sort of young-leading-man roles that would be played today by actors contractually bound to Marvel or DC Comics. (Had superhero films been a major part of Hanks' early career, "I'd try to play the guy at the computer terminal with a headset on, the geek who makes wisecracks," the actor says.) He is sympathetic to his younger colleagues, noting that his son Colin's experience working in TV—currently as a lead on CBS's *Life in Pieces*—has been more stressful than Hanks' own *Bosom Buddies* days. "The measure for success is either you are an ultra-, absolute megahit or you're an also-ran. I think there's many more also-rans than there are mega-ultra-super hits."

LIKE GOOD HISTORY BUFFS, Hanks and Spielberg know the world only spins forward. They're able to find progress amid seismic change. "I wish that it would have been so easy to make my own content when I was in high school and college," Hanks says. "It wasn't something you could just do. And now when anyone says to me, 'How do you get started in Hollywood,' I say, 'If you're not already creating, get out!'"

"There are stories to be told in every format," adds Spielberg, whose Apple Watch is discreetly tucked beneath the cuff of his shirt. "There are stories to be told if you've only got five minutes between classes. You can look at your watch. You can pick up your phone. You can look at a five-minute story."

That's for future generations (including Spielberg's daughter Sasha, an actor on a sitcom hosted by the app Snapchat) to hash out. *Bridge of Spies* is a 2015 film with a moral tone and craftsmanship that recall a bygone era. For his performance, Hanks has been widely compared to Jimmy Stewart; like Stewart, Hanks is a

The partnership of Hanks and Spielberg



SAVING PRIVATE RYAN (1998)
Spielberg claims that Hanks "cast me and I cast him" in the film, for which he won a Best Director Oscar



BAND OF BROTHERS (2001)
Hanks calls the HBO miniseries, part of a boom in quality cable TV, "a purely cinematic experience"



CATCH ME IF YOU CAN (2002)
Hanks plays Javert to Leonardo DiCaprio's charming con man in a far lighter look at the Cold War years



THE TERMINAL (2004)
In *Bridge of Spies*, Hanks is a Yank in Europe; here he's a European traveler stuck at a New York City airport

major star who tamps down his wattage at first, before revealing everything in his arsenal. "It takes a great actor to step into a role and instantly become anonymous and then show what he's got as the story unfolds," Spielberg puts it. Refusing to listen to the praise, Hanks has excused himself to procure a banana.

It's another way in which the director and actor suit each other: Spielberg's direction, while assured, calls little attention to itself here. Though there are certain Spielberg hallmarks—yes, including some fairly unrepentant sentimentality—the film is restrained enough to earn its interest from dialogue, not from technical mastery announcing itself.

The less flashy work, Spielberg says, is intentional. "When I can watch a movie and I can forget that I made the movie, that's the first sign that I'm going to be pretty happy with it, that I'm going to be able to live with it."

It's a value that's rooted in Hanks' and Spielberg's personal history. When the pair were preparing the projects that would earn each his first Oscar—*Schindler's List* for Spielberg, the AIDS drama *Philadelphia* for Hanks, who shaved off his hair for it—they'd convene on weekends at Spielberg's beach house. By the time he saw *Philadelphia*, Spielberg says, he "forgot that I even knew this man, and saw one of the most noble statements I had seen in film. The knowing of the actor didn't knock down the fourth wall."

Hanks can't help being one of the most recognizable actors in the world at this point—"I've been babysitting kids on video since *Bosom Buddies*," he says. And he's no chameleon. (He cites Daniel Day-Lewis and Johnny Depp as this sort of performer.) What he brings, as his director does, is a willingness to stake his reputation on the idea that fame can serve larger ideas and historical messages rather than distract from them.

Certain themes may recur across American history, but Hanks and Spielberg haven't run out of stories yet. "If you're only giving the audience stuff they're familiar with," Hanks says, "they're going to hate you. There has to be something new up there. And it's beyond my pay grade to figure out what it is."



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PROFILE

Guillermo del Toro arms the damsel with a knife in *Crimson Peak*

By Eliana Dockterman

PUSHING ASIDE HER BILLIONG VICTORIAN SKIRTS, Mia Wasikowska climbs atop Tom Hiddleston for the first sex scene in Guillermo del Toro's R-rated Gothic horror story *Crimson Peak*. The audience waits for Wasikowska to disrobe, knowing that now, with her virtue tarnished, she's doomed to meet a grisly end—after all, that's the horror-movie fate for girls who lose their virginity. But no punishment comes her way. More surprisingly, the only flash of exposed skin is Hiddleston's behind. "Tom actually has the most nudity in the movie," del Toro tells TIME. "I want to make it clear to the audience that when these two characters make love, it's empowering. I'm horrified when I see movies in this day and age that send warnings to women [that] sex is bad."

Reimagining the sex scenes in a horror film is just one of the many contemporary touches to *Crimson Peak*, in theaters Oct. 16. The film begins by mirroring the plots of great Gothic romances such as *Jane Eyre* and *Rebecca*: naive Edith (Wasikowska) falls in love with brooding Thomas (Hiddleston), goes to his mysterious house and is confronted by Lucille (Jessica Chastain), a dark authority figure with a secret. That is where the similarities end. While Thomas or the doting doctor Alan (Charlie Hunnam) might come to Edith's rescue in another story, these two are all but shunted aside as Chastain and Wasikowska proceed to play cat and mouse.

Gothic romance has long been "brilliantly written by women and then rendered into films by male directors who reduce the potency of the female characters," says del Toro, who believes that recent small-budget films by women, like *The Babadook* and *A Girl Walks Home Alone at Night*, may be the future of the horror genre. For his part, he took pleasure in upending the longstand-

Wasikowska descends the stairs of the Gothic mansion del Toro built from scratch for the film



ing cliché of the fallen woman who gets her due. "I didn't want to make a movie where marriage is the ultimate blessing," he adds. "In *Crimson Peak* marriage is the gateway to horror."

The writer-director, best known for the beautifully creepy *Pan's Labyrinth* and the robot-monster smackdown *Pacific Rim*, is not an obvious candidate for a feminist leap forward in film. But he has built a reputation for complex and surprising portrayals of women: the bold Mako Mori in *Pacific Rim* and the curious Ofelia, inspired by del Toro's two daughters, in *Pan's Labyrinth*. "I have very strong women in my life," he says. "I would be lying if I wrote women any other way."

But *Crimson Peak* is his first film with two cunning female leads. Del Toro sent the script first to Chastain, expecting her to accept the role of the heroine. Instead, she insisted on playing the villain Lucille. "Smart girl," del Toro says. "Beauty can be a curse. Yes, Jessica is a

beautiful woman, but many don't realize the intelligence she brings to a role."

"I'm tired of female characters who are just adornments," Chastain adds. "I wanted to find compassion for someone who does truly terrible things."

Wasikowska hesitated before taking on Edith. She may look as delicate as a porcelain doll, but Wasikowska has portrayed two of literature's most resolute women—Jane Eyre and Madame Bovary—and, in the 2013 film *Tracks*, she played an Australian who treks across 1,700 miles of withering desert. "I worried that because Edith is the audience's eyes, she wouldn't have much story and could be outshone," she says, "but Guillermo made sure that just because Lucille was a strong character didn't mean Edith had to be a weak one. There was enough room for two powerful women, which is rare."

Del Toro has been dreaming up *Crimson Peak* since he saw his first film, *Wuthering Heights*, with his mother at



age 3 in his hometown of Guadalajara, Mexico. "They call those theaters 'brick and rat' because they gave you a brick to kill the rat that crawls up your leg," he says. "I fell asleep during the movie and dreamt of those Gothic images—the fog, the moors, the house. I think it was [this film's] inception."

Decades later, he built a haunted house for *Crimson Peak* from scratch, including running water, a working elevator and secret rooms to stash corpses. Del Toro has always been obsessed with such details: in pre-production he hands out 10-page biographies for each of the characters and asks his actors to keep secrets about their character's pasts from other members of the cast. His attention to the craft inspired Wasikowska to overcome her trepidations and Hunnam to reject top billing in *Fifty Shades of Grey* in order to play the fourth lead in this film.

Still, convincing a studio to finance a Gothic manse for a movie with an

R rating and a feminist message—not exactly blockbuster material—took eight years. Even when the renowned production company Legendary Pictures signed a deal, del Toro had to forfeit 30% of his salary. He encountered similar issues while trying to bring a live-action *Beauty and the Beast* to the screen for Warner Bros., a project that is now defunct. "They felt my take was too female-centric and didn't support the budget properly," he says. "I've written 23 screenplays in my life, and I have only directed nine movies and produced another few. It's an uphill battle to get these movies made."

But when he does, he'll have his pick of actresses seeking robust roles. "I've worked on films with male directors who probably liked the idea of doing a story about a woman, but the reality and the depth of it they don't understand," says Wasikowska. "Guillermo has so much insight into the world women live in. In this business, that's special." □

REVIEW

Victoria is a single shot of adrenaline

THE SPECTACULAR GIRL-meets-boy-meets-heist movie *Victoria* barrels around Berlin in one uninterrupted take for 134 minutes. During that time, the title character (riveting Laia Costa), a Spanish 20-something temporarily looking for fun in the German capital, dances in a pulsing underground club, meets a quartet of raucous German buddies, connects with the cute one (Frederick Lau), and, on fumes of 4 a.m. attraction, loneliness, excitement and the heartbreaking fearlessness of beautiful youth, joins them on an amateur bank robbery, with harrowing consequences. Moving among 22 locations, director Sebastian Schipper and his heroic cinematographer, Sturla Brandth Grovlen, have crafted a mad, handheld feat of propulsive movie bravado. In the midst of this real-time adventure, though, there is nothing to do but hang on and be swept up in all the mesmerizing, outlandish inevitability. As the light comes up on a new Berlin day, we are wrung out. Imagine the cameraman.

—LISA SCHWARZBAUM



Costa embodies the mad spirit of *Victoria*'s all-night caper



MOVIES

Peter Pan's backstory is a mess of moviesplaining

"SECOND STAR TO THE RIGHT, AND STRAIGHT ON TILL morning" was how a pre-GPS Peter Pan got to Neverland. The route in director Joe Wright's extravagant prequel *Pan* is a mite more complicated: hop on an 18th century pirate ship skittering along the Thames, avoid the strafing of the RAF Spitfires buzzing your topmast (it's World War II London, after all) and head for the clouds. There you'll find the "cruel and dangerous" Blackbeard (Hugh Jackman) ruling over a pixie-dust mining colony of lost boys, who for some reason are bellowing out Nirvana's "Smells Like Teen Spirit." Proceed with caution.

There's no denying that *Pan* is one ambitious fairy tale. But what's being labeled a "wholly original adventure" feels far from new, never mind necessary. The usual cast is on hand: Tiger Lily (Rooney Mara), a pre-hook Hook (Garrett Hedlund) and a flicker of light called Tinkerbell. There is action and adventure, and also prophecy: It has been foretold that the "chosen one" who will lead the successful rebellion against Blackbeard will be able to fly. The young Peter (Levi Miller) has shown a propensity for unaccompanied air travel. Let the hostilities commence.

There is much to be enjoyed in Wright's update, including its abundant visual energy. Still, one wonders if *Pan* will really do much for Peter, who has endured for more than a century partly because he has no history. Despite his brashness and bravery, he's a poignant figure, a boy who refuses to grow up but still hungers for someone (Wendy) to tell him stories. Why? We never cared. Wright erects an elaborate backstory, but like a lot of high-flown mythology manufactured for motion pictures, it doesn't quite get off the ground.

—JOHN ANDERSON

'We have
an ancient
prophecy . . . that
tells of a boy
who will lead an
uprising against
me. A boy who
could fly.'

HUGH JACKMAN, as
Blackbeard in *Pan*

MOVIES

Steve Jobs muddies man and myth

LIKE THE COMPUTERS HE sold so brilliantly, Steve Jobs was complicated, charismatic and coldly inhuman. The movie of the same name, directed by Danny Boyle and starring Michael Fassbender as the Apple CEO, is no different. In adapting Walter Isaacson's biography of the Silicon Valley pioneer, screenwriter Aaron Sorkin reimagines him as a modern-day Prospero, capable of creating tempestuous magic but deaf to the dissent and chaos his decrees engender. As Jobs prepares to unveil some of his most influential products to the world, he receives backstage counsel from his earliest allies Steve Wozniak (Seth Rogen) and Joanna Hoffman (Kate Winslet), as well as the man who fired him from the company he created, John Sculley (Jeff Daniels). Meanwhile he is dunned by an ex-girlfriend (Katherine Waterston) who wants Jobs to recognize their daughter Lisa (played by three actors at different ages). What's most difficult about Sorkin's intricate fantasy is not acknowledging Jobs' darkness, but setting aside all hope of seeing the real man who inspired it.

—ISAAC GUZMÁN



As Jobs, Fassbender exudes genius and disingenuousness



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EXCLUSIVE EXCERPT

Detective Cormoran Strike returns in a new tale of twisted motives

By Robert Galbraith

J.K. Rowling surprised the world when she was identified as Robert Galbraith, the little-known author of *The Cuckoo's Calling*, a 2013 mystery novel starring Detective Cormoran Strike. But she has continued to publish as Galbraith, whose dark, chilling and occasionally gory métier is a far cry from Hogwarts. *Career of Evil*, the third novel in the Cormoran Strike series, will be published Oct. 20. TIME has an exclusive excerpt.

A rock through a window never comes with a kiss.

—Blue Öyster Cult, “Madness to the Method”

ROBIN ELLACOTT WAS 26 YEARS OLD AND HAD BEEN engaged for over a year. Her wedding ought to have taken place three months previously, but the unexpected death of her future mother-in-law had led to the ceremony's postponement. Much had happened in the time since. Would she and Matthew have been getting on better if vows had been exchanged, she wondered. Would they be arguing less if a golden band was sitting beneath the sapphire engagement ring that had become a little loose on her finger?

Fighting her way through the rubble on Tottenham Court Road on Monday morning, Robin mentally relived the argument of the previous day. The seeds had been sown before they had even left the house for the rugby. Every time they met up with Sarah Shadlock and her boyfriend Tom, Robin and Matthew seemed to row, something that Robin had pointed out as the argument, which had been brewing since the match, dragged on into the small hours of the morning.

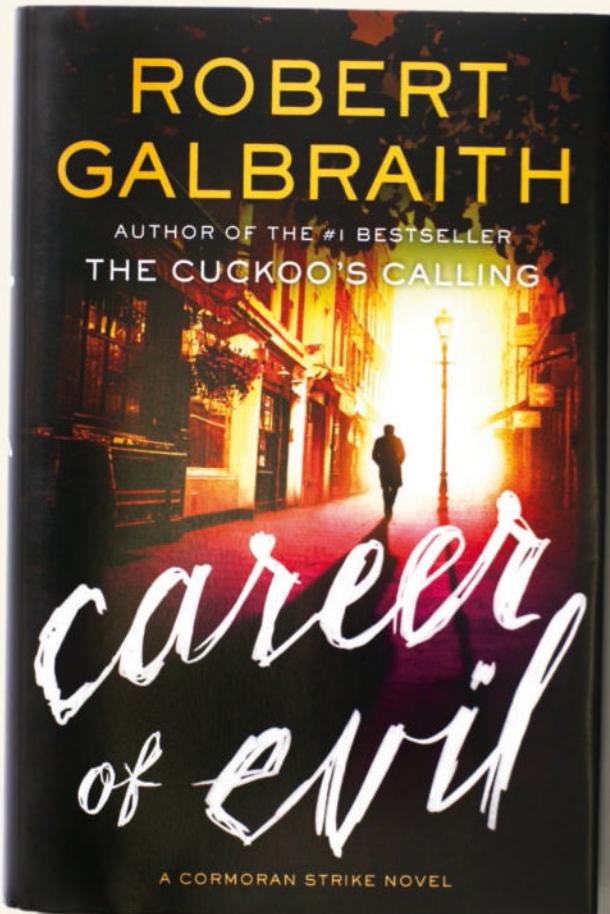
“Sarah was sh-t-stirring, for God’s sake—can’t you see it? She was the one asking all about him, going on and on, I didn’t start it ...”

The everlasting roadworks around Tottenham Court Road station had obstructed Robin’s walk to work ever since she had started at the private detective agency in Denmark Street. Her mood was not improved by tripping on a large chunk of rubble; she staggered a few steps before recovering her balance. A barrage of wolf-whistles and lewd remarks issued from a deep chasm in the road full of men in hard hats and fluorescent jackets. Shaking long strawberry-blond hair out of her eyes, red in the face, she ignored them, her thoughts returning irresistibly to Sarah Shadlock and her sly, persistent questions about Robin’s boss.

“He is strangely attractive, isn’t he? Bit beaten-up-looking, but I’ve never minded that. Is he sexy in the flesh? He’s a big guy, isn’t he?”

Robin had seen Matthew’s jaw tightening as she tried to return cool, indifferent answers.

“Is it just the two of you in the office? Is it really? Nobody else at all?”



Bitch, thought Robin, whose habitual good nature had never stretched to Sarah Shadlock. She knew exactly what she was doing.

“Is it true he was decorated in Afghanistan? Is it? Wow, so we’re talking a war hero too?”

Robin had tried her hardest to shut down Sarah’s one-woman chorus of appreciation for Cormoran Strike, but to no avail: a coolness had crept into Matthew’s manner towards his fiancée by the end of the match. His displeasure had not prevented him bantering and laughing with Sarah on the journey back from Vicarage Road, though, and Tom, whom Robin found boring and obtuse, had chortled away, oblivious to any undercurrents.

Jostled by passersby also navigating the open trenches in the road, Robin finally reached the opposite pavement, passing beneath the shadow of the concrete grid-like monolith that was Centre Point and becoming angry all over again as she remembered what Matthew had told her at midnight, when the argument had burst back into flame.

"You can't stop bloody talking about him, can you? I heard you, to Sarah—"

"I did not start talking about him again, it was her, you weren't listening—"

But Matthew had imitated her, using the generic voice that stood for all women, high-pitched and imbecilic: "Oh, his hair's so lovely—"

"For God's sake, you're completely bloody paranoid!" Robin had shouted. "Sarah was banging on about Jacques Burger's bloody hair, not Cormoran's, and all I said—"

"Not Cormoran's," he had repeated in that moronic squeal. As Robin rounded the corner into Denmark Street she felt as furious as she had eight hours ago, when she had stormed out of the bedroom to sleep on the sofa.

Sarah Shadlock, bloody Sarah Shadlock, who had been at university with Matthew and had tried as hard as she could to win him away from Robin, the girl left behind in Yorkshire ... If Robin could have been sure she would never see Sarah again she would have rejoiced, but Sarah would be at their wedding in July, Sarah would doubtless continue to plague their married life, and perhaps one day she would try to worm her way into Robin's office to meet Strike, if her interest was genuine and not merely a means of sowing discord between Robin and Matthew.

I will never introduce her to Cormoran, thought Robin savagely as she approached the courier standing outside the door to the office. He had a clipboard in one gloved hand and a long rectangular package in the other.

"Is that for Ellacott?" Robin asked as she came within speaking distance. She was expecting an order of ivory cardboard-covered disposable cameras, which were to be favors at the wedding reception. Her working hours had become so irregular of late that she found it easier to send online orders to the office rather than the flat.

The courier

nodded and held out the clipboard without taking off his motorcycle helmet. Robin signed and took the long package, which was much heavier than she had expected; it felt as though some single large object slid inside it as she put it under her arm.

"Thank you," she said, but the courier had already turned away and swung a leg over his motorbike. She heard him ride away as she let herself inside the building.

Up the echoing metal staircase that wound around the broken birdcage lift she walked, her heels clanging on the metal. The glass door flashed as she unlocked and opened it and the engraved legend—C.B. STRIKE, PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR—stood out darkly.

She had arrived deliberately early. They were currently inundated with cases and she wanted to catch up with some paperwork before resuming her daily surveillance of a young Russian lap-dancer.

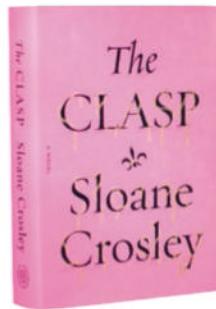
From the sound of heavy footfalls overhead, she deduced that Strike was still upstairs in his flat.

Robin laid her oblong package on the desk, took off her coat and hung it, with her bag, on a peg behind the door, turned on the light, filled and switched on the kettle, then reached for the sharp letter-opener on her desk. Remembering Matthew's flat refusal to believe that it had been flanker Jacques Burger's curly mane she had been admiring, rather than Strike's short and frankly pubescent hair, she made an angry stab to the end of the package, slit it open and pulled the box apart.

A woman's severed leg had been crammed sideways in the box, the toes of the foot bent back to fit.

Excerpted from Career of Evil by Robert Galbraith, to be published Oct. 20.

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REVIEW

Lives that come undone

Sloane Crosley's *The Clasp* tells the story of a group of college friends who all meet again, on the brink of 30, at a wedding in Florida. "It was disquieting," a guest thinks, "seeing all these names from his past in calligraphy, as if they were passengers on the *Titanic*." It's a good line and also a deft piece of foreshadowing. Icebergs ahead.

Crosley is best known for her comic essays, some of which were collected in *I Was Told There'd Be Cake*, but her gifts—keen observation, mordant humor, an affinity for the bittersweet—translate surprisingly seamlessly into fiction. The principal characters in *The Clasp* are Kezia (clever, single, jewelry designer), Nathaniel (clever, single, feckless, screenwriter) and Victor (clever, feckless, unemployed, in love with Kezia). Reunited, with little to show for the years in between, they dust off old crushes and chat and riff off one another with a marvelous lightness and a quickness that stands in poignant contrast to the heavy slowness with which they grope their way through life.

The clasp of the title is, on its most literal level, that of a necklace, or in fact several necklaces. One is a priceless treasure lost by a wealthy family, and midway through the book the plot pivots from social comedy to a pleasantly caperish quest to recover it. Another is Guy de Maupassant's "The Necklace," a famously devastating story of lives wasted beyond redemption. That story becomes a motif in Crosley's sad, hopeful, endlessly entertaining book—it comes up again and again, like a blinking lighthouse, warning us off the shoals of life, reminding us that there are losses that cannot be charmed or joked away.

—Lev Grossman



After 400 million books sold, R.L. Stine finally has a movie

By Lev Grossman

THE GOOSEBUMPS BOOKS BY R.L. STINE are a ubiquitous series of playful middle-grade horror novels that have sold over 400 million copies worldwide. Since the series launched in 1992, it has also become a TV show and a video game, and if you'd asked me I would have guessed offhand that there were probably already half a dozen *Goosebumps* movies.

But in fact *Goosebumps*, starring Jack Black and opening Oct. 16, is the first one. "We've had movie contracts for like 20 years," says Stine, who is 72 and lives in New York City and who I also wouldn't have guessed was a real person. "Twenty years ago Tim Burton was supposed to be the producer, but no one could ever come up with a script that anyone liked. Because everyone was just thinking, 'Which book should we do?' And then finally somebody came up with this idea and said, 'Well, let's do all of them. Let's take all the monsters, and make R.L. Stine the main character, and have him worried because all his monsters are escaping.'"

And that's what they did: in the movie all the monsters in the books turn out to be real, and they escape from the books, and Stine (played by Black) and two good-looking teenagers have to put them back in again. Stine didn't write the screenplay himself. "No one asked me," he says. "No one wants the author!" Stine, who is one of the most spontaneously funny people I've ever met, has a way of adopting a slightly woebegone persona while at the same time somehow letting on that he knows he's not fooling anybody.

He was born Robert Lawrence Stine in Columbus, Ohio, in 1943. His father worked for a restaurant-supply company. His mother kept house. Stine knew early on what he wanted to be. "I never give writing advice," he says. "I think people who are going to be writers are like me, they knew it very young. When I was 9, I knew I wanted to be a writer. You don't have to tell these people, 'Read a lot' or 'Write something every day.' They're already driven to do it."

Stine was driven, but success wasn't immediate. His first job as a writer was working for a woman who published six different movie magazines from a brownstone on 95th Street in New York City. His job was fabricating interviews with movie stars. "I would come in in the morning and she would say, 'Do an interview with Diana Ross.' And I would sit down and write an interview with Diana Ross. And she would say, 'Do an interview with Tom Jones—the rumors about him aren't true!' And I'd just make it up! And she'd say, 'Do another one—the rumors are true!' So I learned how to write really fast and how to make stuff up." The skills have come in handy. (These stories and many more can be found in Stine's highly readable autobiography *It Came from Ohio!*,

which is not to be confused with the 30th book in the *Goosebumps* series, *It Came from Beneath the Sink!*)

The Stine of the movie, who is creepy and mysterious, has very little to do with the real-life Stine, who is warm and charming, but Stine does make a cameo. Watch for him at the very end: Jack Black is walking down a school hallway with a student, and Stine (the real Stine) walks by holding a briefcase and says, "Hello, Mr. Stine." Black replies: "Hello, Mr. Black." Then he explains to the student that Mr. Black is the new drama teacher. "I'm on for like four seconds," Stine says. "Not even five. Four. They shot it 25 times. I said, 'Jack, I would kill myself. I couldn't work like this for anything.'"

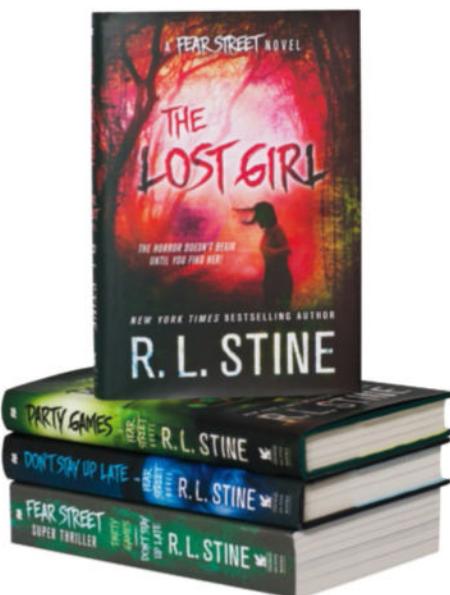
Stine suggested that Black say he's the new custodian instead, and they shot a few takes that way, but the change didn't make it into the film. "It's better, right?" Stine says. "They don't listen to me." In truth he doesn't seem that tempted by Hollywood. "It's total collaboration, if you like that. I kind of like sitting in a room and, you know, writing what I want to write."

Right now he wants to write more *Fear Street* novels, a young-adult series that has been dormant for 20 years. He'll write six in the next year or so. "A new one came out yesterday, it's called *The Lost Girl*," he says, "and it has the most gruesome scene in it that I've ever written, involving horses. It's a really horrible scene, horrible. I should be ashamed."

Some things have changed since the last time Stine wrote young-adult fiction, not least the state of consumer technology. "The cell phone has ruined more plots than anything," he says. "Before, you could do a book where a girl is getting these frightening phone calls. Who's calling me? Who is it? Now she looks at her phone. She knows who it is. And the book is over." But other things remain constant. "The fears don't change," Stine says. "Most of these books could have been written when I was a kid. Horror doesn't change." □

'The cell phone has ruined more plots than anything. Now she looks at her phone. She knows who it is. And the book is over.'

—R.L. STINE



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TIME
PICKS

MOVIES

The buzzy newsroom drama *Truth* (Oct. 16) stars Cate Blanchett and Robert Redford in a retelling of the 2004 controversy over unauthenticated documents that led anchor Dan Rather to resign from *60 Minutes*.



^ MUSIC

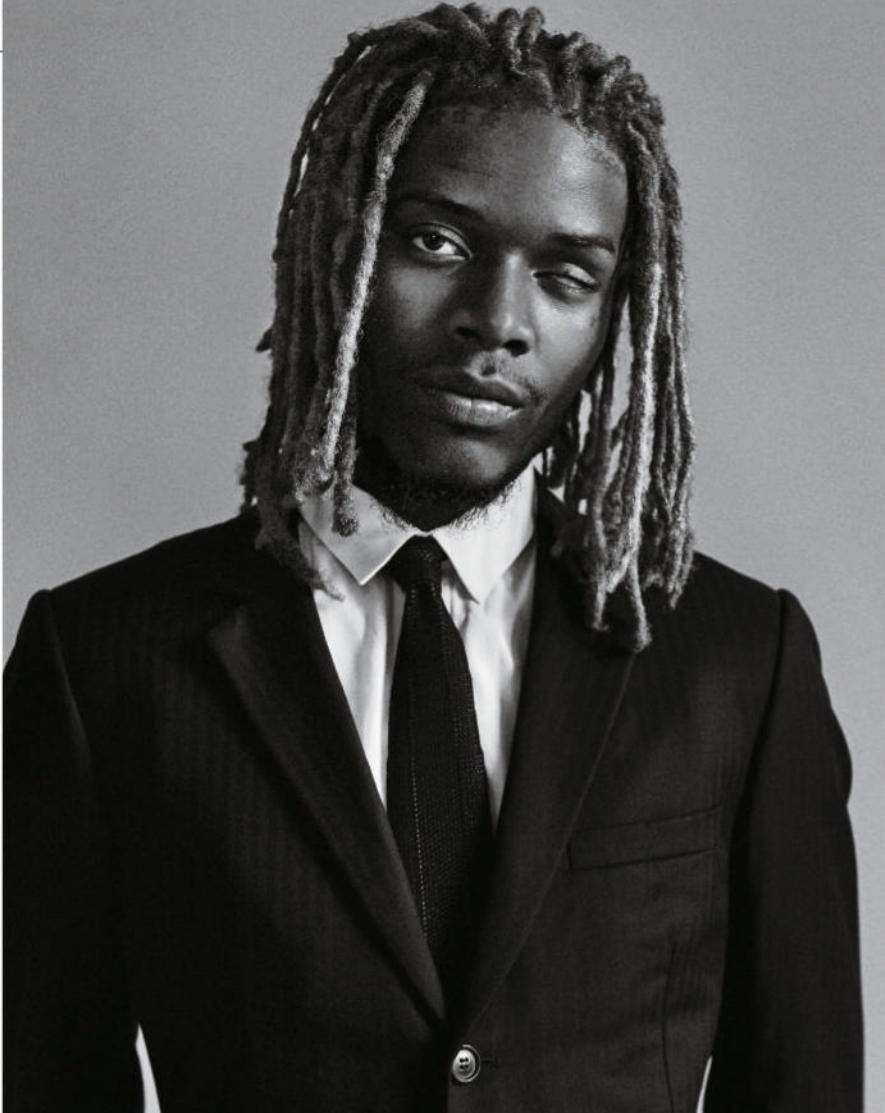
On Demi Lovato's fifth album, *Confident* (Oct. 16), the former Disney star takes a more adult turn, lending her robust pipes to songs about love, sex and her relationship with her late father.

BOOKS

Musician and poet Patti Smith follows up her National Book Award-winning *Just Kids* with a second memoir, *M Train* (out Oct. 6), in which she uses Polaroids to illustrate wide-ranging ruminations on her life.

▼ TELEVISION

In *Crazy Ex-Girlfriend*, a witty musical comedy premiering Oct. 12 on the CW, comedian Rachel Bloom plays a successful lawyer who quits her job to move cross-country in pursuit of a high school flame.



MUSIC

How Fetty Wap became a hip-hop sensation

IN JULY 2014, THE NEW YORK CITY DJ MISTER Cee was ecstatic about a new single from a rapper in nearby Paterson, N.J. "I want to get this record on before it gets to the city, because it's going to get to New York," Cee told listeners of the influential hip-hop station Hot 97. "The name of the song is 'Trap Queen.'" Then he introduced Fetty Wap to the world, spinning an outlaw love song that's simultaneously awestruck and streetwise, with lyrics about hanging out at the mall and trying out pick-up lines—"I'm like, Hey, what's up, hello"—alongside veiled references to cooking crack cocaine and buying his-and-her "matching Lambos" (as in Lamborghinis).

But what sells the song is Fetty's unbridled singing, which brings to mind the passionate wail of the Four Tops' Levi Stubbs. Paired with the skittering, skeletal beats that propel the hip-hop subgenre known as Trap&B, "Trap Queen" rang out with honesty and humor, contrasting sharply with glossier, club-ready hits.

CHART BUSTER

Fetty's three Top 10 singles made him a 2015 breakout



"Trap Queen"

A tribute to an ex-girlfriend that earned Fetty Kanye West's approval

"My Way"

Steal Fetty's woman and he says he'll shoot you; it sounds nicer in the song

"679"

A tribute to a gorgeous woman, his hometown crew and \$500 jeans

◀ Fetty Wap, who lost his left eye as a child, stopped wearing his prosthetic so he'd have a unique look

Mister Cee was dead-on about “Trap Queen” getting to New York—although he didn’t anticipate how it would infect the rest of the country and turn Fetty Wap, 24, into one of 2015’s most improbable success stories. Kanye West declared it “my favorite song right now” when he introduced Fetty at a February concert; Jay Z and Beyoncé were spotted dancing along in the audience. Taylor Swift brought him onstage at one of her summer shows to perform the breakout hit. And “Trap Queen,” which peaked at No. 2 on *Billboard*’s Hot 100 singles chart in May, was just the start of Fetty’s run. In July, “My Way” entered the Top 10, followed quickly by “679.” “The most surprising thing about this past year is really how much support I’ve received from everyone and how big ‘Trap Queen’ got,” Fetty tells TIME via email.

Born Willie Maxwell II in 1991, he suffered from congenital glaucoma and lost his left eye at 6 months of age. A high school dropout, he played piano and drums in his youth “just for fun” and was inspired to start rapping by artists such as Atlanta’s Gucci Mane and Memphis M.C. Juicy J of Three 6 Mafia. (Fetty is street slang for money, and the Gucci Mane nickname Guwop provided the second half of his stage name.) Fetty’s rapping slowly morphed into his current style, a cross between singing and rhyming that he developed “about two years ago.” Which is also when he stopped wearing his prosthetic eye at home, seeking a look that would set him apart. It worked. For months, the hip-hop world was abuzz with rumors about the cause; some said it was a shotgun blast, others a firecracker. He finally came clean in February, telling Sirius XM’s DJ Self, “I never got shot in my eye. The song was getting hotter, the pictures were getting viral—I just let it build up.”

On Oct. 4, Fetty Wap’s self-titled album entered the *Billboard* album chart at No. 1, less than two weeks after a motorcycle accident left his leg broken in three places. (It also earned him three summonses from Paterson police, including driving without a license, not having insurance and failing to provide proof of registration.) The album relies almost exclusively on Fetty’s charismatic vocals, applied to songs about big-money dreams and rough times in Paterson’s projects. The only guests are members of the Remy Boyz, his cognac-obsessed hometown crew. The result bridges the gap between sweetness and sin, innocent joy and illegal thrills. Fetty Wap is a player who still manages to be playful, and that’s just as addictive as any product you could ever buy on the street.

—MAURA JOHNSTON

QUICK TALK Selena Gomez

The actor and pop singer made some big changes for her new album, *Revival*, out Oct. 9. It’s the 23-year-old’s first full-length release since she left the Disney-owned label where she got her start, with edgier beats that reveal Gomez’s willingness to experiment. —NOLAN FEENEY

This album shows off sides of your voice we haven’t heard before—the raspier side, the quieter side. There were times in my career where I sang things that just weren’t me. You can hear it when it’s inauthentic. I had to discover what was going to separate me. I know that I’m not the world’s greatest singer, but I do know that I have a unique tone. And I’m an actress—I love being able to translate everything I’m feeling inside.

Your personal life attracts a lot of tabloid attention. Is it freeing to open up, or do you censor yourself, knowing the scrutiny it will invite? It would be so unrealistic for me to be in pain and then release a song where I’m like, Life is awesome! I can’t care anymore that people are going to twist my words. Everybody said every single thing they could say about me. I can’t let that keep me from making the music I want to make, even if it is personal.

Every pop star says their new album is their most personal album yet, but you seem to really mean it—you posed nude for your album cover. That’s honestly true! I get it. I feel like, Man, I shouldn’t say it that way. I’m sure a lot of people do say that. I’ve probably said that before.

You also served as an adviser for Gwen Stefani’s team on *The Voice* this season. Were you excited? Are you kidding me? First off, Gwen is like a porcelain doll. Being able to sit next to her, I was in awe. Plus, I love what *The Voice* stands for. They told me I’m never allowed to call the people on the show contestants. We have to call them artists because they’re artists in their own right. It’s about uplifting them and not changing them.

ON MY RADAR

STRIPPED BY CHRISTINA AGUILERA

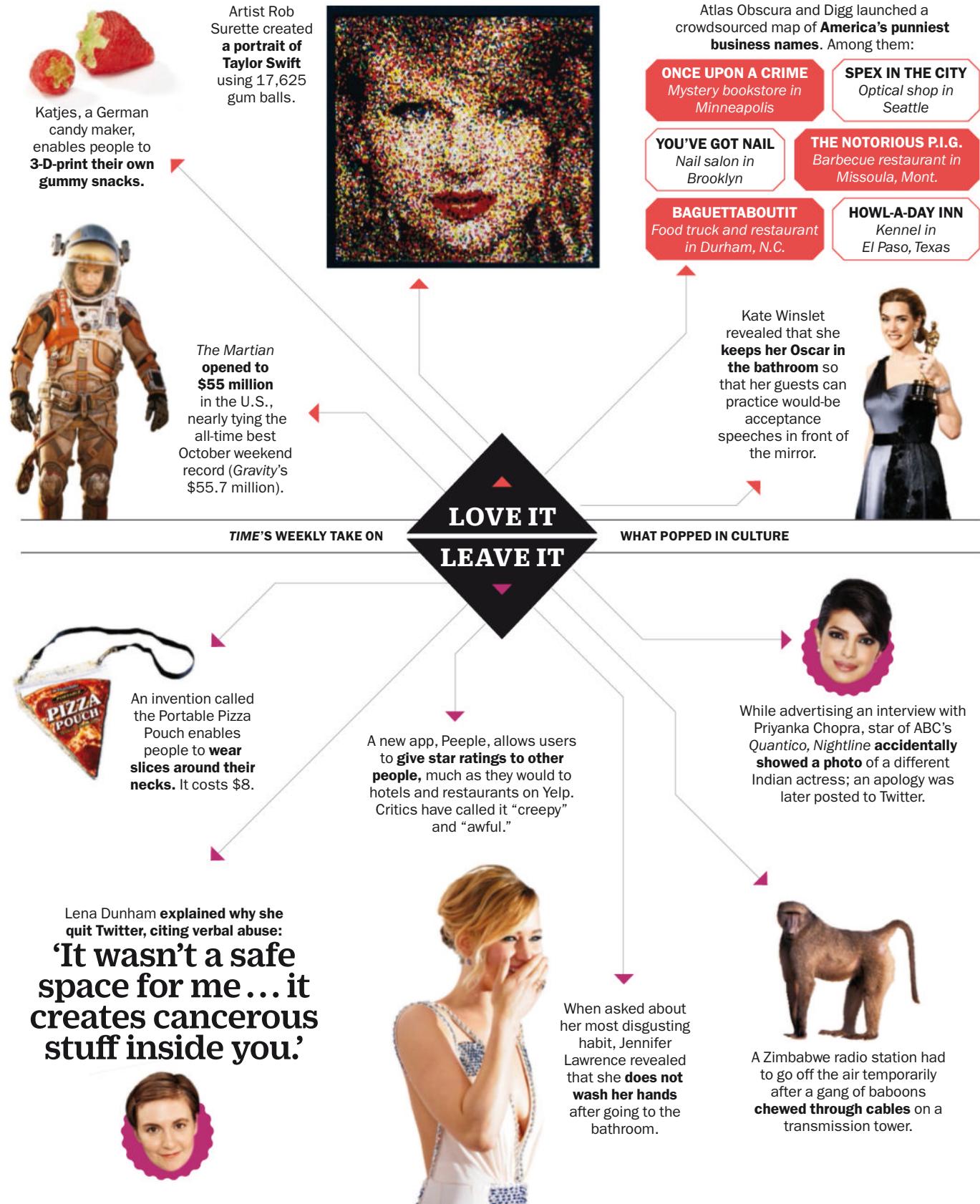
[That] got me through so much of my life. That whole album was her *Revival*.

WHAT A TIME TO BE ALIVE BY DRAKE AND FUTURE

I have to say, I’m into some of the hip-hop. I love Drake, I love Future. I’m excited about their new album.



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THE AMATEUR

My new aspiration—and a new dilemma—for the season of the witch

By Kristin van Ogtrop

EVERY YEAR AS WE APPROACH HALLOWEEN, I HAVE THE same odd sense that something is not quite right with my life. It's a stirring, a bored restlessness that has nothing to do with the change of seasons. It speaks to the nature of my small existence and other Nietzschean head-scratchers that might help give my adult life more meaning if I had actually paid attention during that part of college.

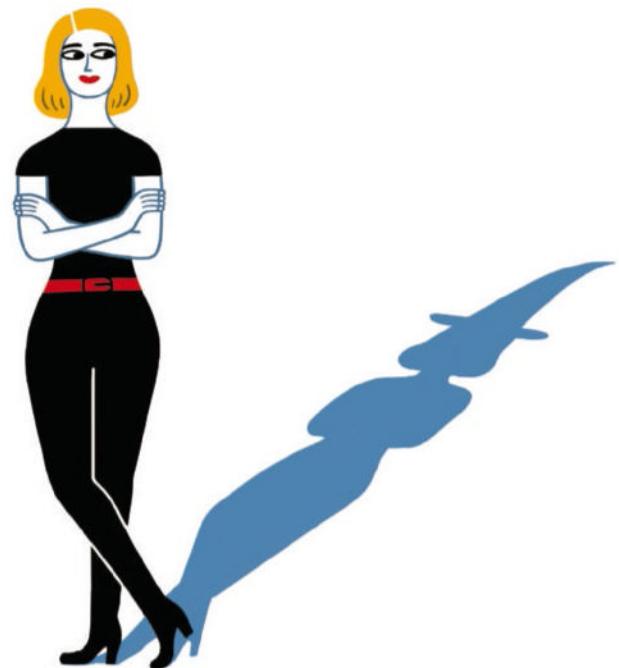
And then I read Stacy Schiff's fantastic new book—*The Witches: Salem, 1692*—and suddenly think I know what it's all about. After years of vague unease, I now understand: I want to be a witch.

WHY WITCHCRAFT? And why now, when I have settled into a comfortable suburban working-mom life, with three kids, a dog and a husband who is definitely not a warlock, unless the English Premier League is secretly a coven? Blame Salem. I didn't realize how comfortable (boring) my life was until I read Schiff's book. I mean, holy cow! Or, rather, unholy cow! There are lots of demonic animals in *The Witches*, although most of them are cats. And there is little comfort and absolutely no boredom. How can you be bored when teenage girls are flying like geese and a grown woman can turn a dog into a keg? That was 71-year-old widow Susannah Martin, who could also turn herself into a black hog and a ball of fire and could walk for miles during the muddiest time of year without getting her shoes wet. Now that every woman in America wears those giant rubber Hunter boots—well, it's much harder to tell who is a witch. But more on that in a minute.

Except for the fact that they were always convulsing in the church pews, I could identify with those Massachusetts ladies. Just like restless suburban working moms of today, witches in Salem, circa 1692, simply had too much to do: "The first person to confess to entering into a pact with Satan," Schiff writes, "had prayed for his help with chores." Not sure I would go to such limits to get my children to do their own laundry, but still: Amen, sister.

And despite the unattractive green-face-black-hat image (thanks for that, *Wizard of Oz*), Schiff's book reminds all of us that witches are highly imaginative and smarter than you and disrupt the patriarchy wherever they go. Message to men everywhere: if you think an overwhelmed working mother is scary, try tangling with a witch. A witch doesn't want to hear why you're not taking out the garbage; she just doesn't like you. Per Schiff, "When she visited men in the night she seemed interested mostly in wringing their necks."*

As for how to tell who is a witch these days, well, good luck with that. They are everywhere. Just ask my sister about her actress friend who—faster than you can say "Double, double toil and trouble"—went from struggling New York artist to Los Angeles star right after she said she was a witch.



Coincidence? You decide.

Now that I've discovered the cure for my restlessness, however, I'm faced with a dilemma. Which witch should I be?

SALEM WITCH Pros: can make suspiciously good linen and cheese; can shout at the minister when his sermon goes on too long. Cons: no hot showers; have to share the spotlight with people named Increase and Cotton; may be hanged in the public square.

BROOKLYN WITCH (See Witches of Bushwick, both a nod to Updike and an actual group.) Pros: get to live in the present day; get to have a bunch of tattoos; Brooklyn. Cons: present day; tattoos; Brooklyn.

ELIZABETH MONTGOMERY WITCH Pros: closest to actual self so may not require complete wardrobe overhaul; house is always really clean; can constantly outwit husband, and he will just love me more for it; Uncle Arthur. Cons: immortality; mom.

MINERVA MCGONAGALL WITCH Pros: Dumbledore as boss; amazing free food at work; never a dull moment. Cons: have to dress like Stevie Nicks; Professor Snape.

TECH ENTREPRENEUR GENIUS BILLIONAIRE

WITCH This, I've decided, is the witchy ideal. To wit: 31-year-old billionaire Elizabeth Holmes, who at age 19 founded the blood-test company Theranos and disrupted the entire medical-testing industry. Is she a witch? Advanced intelligence + blood + teenage disruptor ... again, you decide.

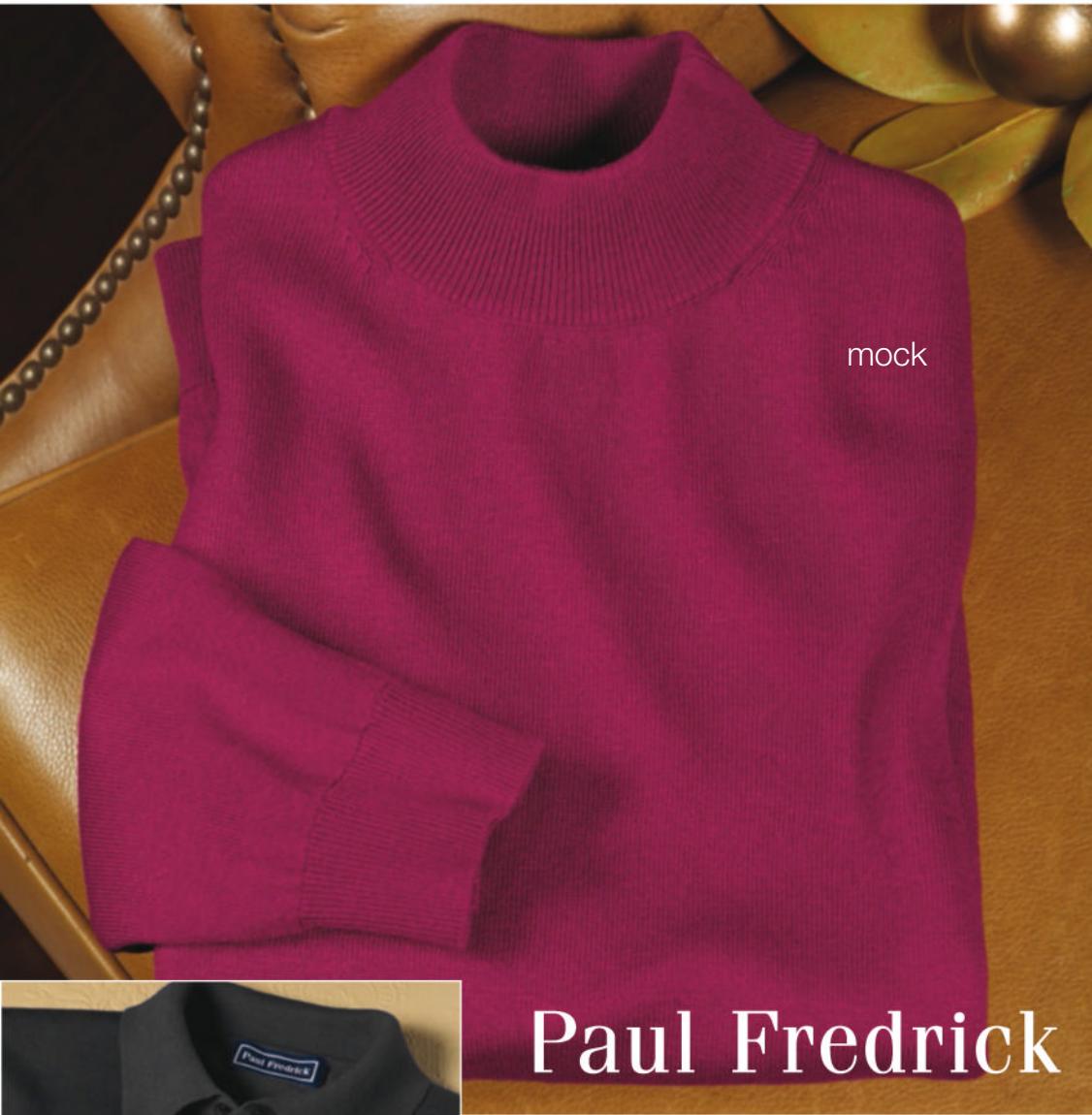
*Note to my husband and three sons: Of course I would never, ever hurt you, even once I become a witch! Just don't cross me or I'll turn you into a keg.

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Ben Bernanke The former Federal Reserve chair on the U.S. recovery, killing bad banks and his new book about the 2008 meltdown, *The Courage to Act*

What, in retrospect, was the worst moment during the crisis? During one week, we had Lehman fail, we had Merrill Lynch being taken over. We had AIG being bailed out. We had Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley under significant pressure. We had Wachovia under pressure. It was a really awful week in terms of how many big financial institutions were on the brink of failure. The system was completely paralyzed.

What was the most difficult political conversation you had while in office?

I have some frustration about the fact that I would often hear different things in a Congressperson's office than what I would hear in testimony. It was kind of *Professor Smith Goes to Washington*. But I could comfort myself by knowing that in the '30s, when we had another financial crisis and another deep economic downturn, the politics was even worse than it was after this crisis.

Of course, back then Senate hearings triggered a radical overhaul of the financial system. We didn't get that kind of response. Why? The Depression was much deeper, and at the time there was considerable fear that capitalism as a system was not going to survive. The level of distrust and unhappiness with the economic situation in the '30s was significantly worse than this episode. There was a lot more fear about the possibility of revolution practically. So stronger measures were taken.

Do you think we got Dodd-Frank wrong? No. There's some big, important parts of Dodd-Frank that are very helpful, particularly the substantial strengthening in capital for large financial firms, the tougher regulation overall and, very importantly, the liquidation authority that was given to the Fed and the FDIC, which allows those two agencies to wind down failing financial firms. There are tools you have—if regulators are willing to use them—that can reduce the too-big-to-fail problem.

What do you make of America's economic recovery now? The U.S. economy has been growing now for six years, and it looks like it's going to continue to grow. My overall view of the U.S. is that we've recovered more strongly than any other industrial country and that our medium-term prospects are probably also the best of any industrial country. This is a good place to invest. And despite political problems, it's quite stable.

Does the financial lobby have too much power over regulators? They clearly have influence. Although, since the crisis, the biggest institutions have had to be a little bit more circumspect because they're still quite unpopular.

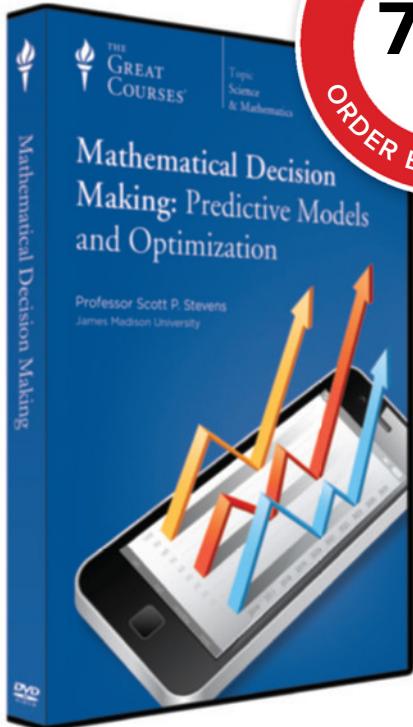
'It was kind of *Professor Smith Goes to Washington*.

Where do you see risk in the system today? There are uncertainties about emerging markets and their financial markets. I think that's probably the area of most uncertainty. But we have a very complex globalized system, and so it requires constant attention to make sure that there isn't some problem building up somewhere.

What can be done about growing inequality? It's a major issue, not only in the U.S. but in other industrial countries as well. To address it is going to require a very sustained effort to improve skills and to bring more people into the most productive parts of the economy. But it's not really something the Fed can do much about. It's got to be training, education, relocation, tax policy—all the things that only Congress can really address.

—RANA FOROOHAR





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